



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Tuesday
3 September 1991

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Zaire

Opposition Issues Ultimatum to Conference Leaders

AB3008142091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] In Zaire, the national conference that began on 7 August seems to have run into a stalemate. This morning, Justin Etouge and Eugene Elang of Africa No. 1 editorial board called the spokesman of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, UDPS, one of the opposition parties present at the conference. According to the spokesman, Homer Kamba, the session is going through a rather difficult beginning.

[Begin Kamba recording] The working sessions, as you know very well, are virtually deadlocked, with the obstruction of the work of the conference executive bureau and even the commissions that were set up. These commissions have practically been taken over by people mandated by the government who have nullified all the lists that were originally registered by the conference preparatory commission.

It has been noticed that in place of true delegates who are mandated representatives of the civilian society, the government has registered and brought into the hall persons who are completely unknown to the grass roots. We ended up with a figure of 4,000 unregistered delegates. As you can see, the opposition found this inadmissible as the conference should not be transformed into a meeting of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, Mr. Mobutu's single ruling party. [end recording]

The second question that the Africa No. 1 editorial board asked was: What does the Zairian opposition propose for the smooth running of the conference?

[Begin Kamba recording] Last night a news conference was held at the UDPS headquarters in the presence of representatives of the Sacred Union, which currently represents the Zairian opposition. During this news conference, an ultimatum was given to the executive bureau of the national conference to resolve the deadlock immediately by convening a plenary session during which the opposition would have access to the media in order to communicate its messages to the nation and to the outside world. That is what has led to the stalemate.

If this ultimatum is not heeded within 48 hours, however—there are only 24 hours left—then the opposition will wash its hands off the affair. The people would be free to assume their responsibility in the face of the deadlock in the democratization process in Zaire. That is why....[changes thought] In the long run, the people would gain the upper hand by taking to the streets. [end recording]

Civilian Societies To Protest

EA3008212591 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French
0500 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The proceedings of the commission in charge of the mandate validation and verification of national conference participants will end this morning at the People's Palace. This was disclosed to the press yesterday by the chairman of the commission, [word indistinct] who said that thanks to the new methodology adopted yesterday, the proceedings will henceforth advance more quickly. The new methodology involved the creation of five subcommissions within the mandate validation and verification commission. [passage omitted]

[Words indistinct] we told you that the proceedings of the mandate validation and verification commission will end this morning at the People's Palace, but I have the impression that it is rather the mandate validation and verification commission which will end the part of the proceedings related to political parties only. We will give you more information on this [words indistinct].

That is not all, [words indistinct] sovereign national conference while some participants are beginning to grow tired of the slow pace of consultations at commission level split [words indistinct] mandates, the delegates of the civilian society represented at this national forum are starting to have many doubts.

Yesterday afternoon, the delegates of the civilian societies of North Kivu, South Kivu, and Shaba held a news conference during which they expressed their concern at the organization and the [word indistinct] national proceedings. Proceedings had not yet started due to the lack of goodwill on the part of the organizers. The delegates decided to meet [words indistinct] their voices to be heard in their own manner. They are going to fast for a few days [words indistinct] organizers of the national conference. For more details, here is (Pierre Lungi), president of the South Kivu Civilian Society, who spoke to our colleague [words indistinct].

[Begin (Lungi) recording] [Passage indistinct] that is why the members of [words indistinct], we have decided to launch an ultimatum action in two phases: in the first phase, which will take place as soon as tomorrow, the South Kivu Civilian Society will occupy a venue, to be announced tomorrow, and will fast and (?go on strike) about the national conference. The South Kivu Civilian Society will call for the solidarity of Kinshasa public opinion and all forces of change to show those in power that there are forces which are organizing themselves and that they should not take the Zairian people's silence for weakness. We will then invite the people of Kinshasa, [words indistinct] to fast with us every day from 0800 to 1800. We will organize collective prayers and singing. We will also invite all those who wish to do so to come [words indistinct] what they think about this national conference [words indistinct] this public register to embassies and the press.

Opposition Ends Boycott

AB0109135091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] In Zaire, the national conference will probably get a shot in the arm. In fact, the coordinating committee of the opposition Sacred Union has decided to rescind its decision to boycott the national conference. Toussaint Ogombe has the details:

[Ogombe] The empty chair policy, which the Zairian opposition has been using, is now over. The opposition has resolved to be ready to participate in this great national forum after an absence of nearly one month. The decision to return to the national conference was reached after a 30 August meeting with the provisional presidium of the national conference. At that meeting, several issues were raised pertaining to the smooth running of the deliberations.

Isaac Kolondji Moutambaye, the chairman of the presidium, provided satisfactory responses to misgivings raised by the opposition delegation at their meeting. Concerning seat reduction to political institutions, the chairman said since all political institution representatives are answerable to the nation for their management, their presence in the conference hall is necessary to establish the truth through confrontational debate. Concerning security at the People's Palace where the conference is being held, the provisional presidium noted that security cannot be insured by a private militia as the opposition is demanding, adding that only the National Gendarmerie whose duty is to guarantee lives and property was more suitable for such a mission.

These were the many issues on which the two sides compromised, which explains why the dispute has been resolved.

Riots Leave 10 Dead

AB0209185591 London BBC World Service
in English 1705 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There are reports emerging from Zaire of serious disturbances in the capital, Kinshasa. According to the opposition, the government had ignored an opposition deadline of yesterday to include nongovernment people in the national conference. Yesterday, the government said the conference was to go ahead regardless, beginning on Wednesday [4 September]. The response seems to have been trouble on the streets of the capital, according to the opposition UDPS [Union for Democracy and

Social Progress] Party. On the line to Brussels, Robin White asked UDPS spokeswoman Justine Kasavubu what her information was.

[Begin recording] [Kasavubu] Well last night the leaders of the opposition decided to organize demonstrations and strike as from today, and that was what happened in fact, today. But during the demonstrations, all of a sudden civil guards and people of Mobutu's private militia decided, under the orders, of course, of the authorities, which means Mobutu and the delegates of the MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution], Mobutu's party in Kinshasa, they decided to intervene and to attack the population. And also I must say that the headquarters of the UDPS, Union for Democracy and Social Progress, our party, was infested by those militiamen and we are now ... [changes thought] There are 10 deaths reported within the headquarters of the UDPS.

[White] So you are claiming that the soldiers attacked your party headquarters?

[Kasavubu] Yes. It is not only a claim; it is a reality. They really attacked not only our headquarters but all the population in Kinshasa, and other injuries are reported, and people [are] also reported missing, you see. So this is really the last to show of Mobutu's will of not wanting to move us from Zaire without bloodshed, and now we have come to it.

[White] So how many people, according to you, may have been killed or injured in Kinshasa today?

[Kasavubu] Well if you add to the 10 we know for sure of the UDPS, you must add dozens of other people dead and others reported injured. But now we have to wait a few hours to know exactly the numbers of people brought into hospitals and so on.

[White] According to you, how many people took part in demonstrations in Kinshasa today?

[Kasavubu] Well spontaneously, everywhere in Kinshasa, people were in the streets without, as well as in the areas of the government and also in the city, but more in the city. [sentence as heard]

[White] But where have you got your information from?

[Kasavubu] Well, we had a contact early this afternoon with some members of our staff in Kinshasa, and they have assured us that all these information are reflecting the reality of today.

[White] You are sure they are not exaggerating?

[Kasavubu] Oh no, no! I even think that it is under the reality. [end recording]

Ethiopia

Eritrea Releases 1 American, 12 Others

EA3008185091 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Communique issued by the provisional government of Eritrea on 29 August; place not given—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] The provisional government of Eritrea has decided to release the 13 foreigners who were arrested because they were in Eritrean waters illegally. The 13 foreigners include six Britons, six Italians, and one American. They were arrested on 9 August by the coastal guard units of the Eritrean Navy after they were found in Eritrean waters around the Dahlak Islands illegally in a boat called Lady Jennifer. After their arrest, the provisional government of Eritrea notified their respective countries about their condition through diplomatic channels.

The Dahlak Islands and the Red Sea waters around the islands are the most important tourist areas in Eritrea. [passage omitted] The 13 foreigners were arrested because they were found in these waters illegally. Otherwise, the area is open to all tourists.

Even though these foreigners were supposed to be prosecuted for the offense they committed, the provisional government of Eritrea decided to release them as an expression of goodwill.

[Issued by] The provisional government of Eritrea
[Dated] 29 August 1991

Unified Eritrean Organization Leader Interviewed

PM3008151691 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
30 Aug 91 pp 28-29

[Unattributed interview with 'Umar al-Burj, leader of the the Unified Eritrean Organization; place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [AL-HAWADITH] Is Eritrea free now?

[Al-Burj] Yes. After the Mengistu regime collapsed politically and militarily, the Ethiopian forces in Eritrea collapsed and most of them fled to Djibouti and Sudan. The force that was Asmera surrendered without any fighting so the withdrawal of the last Ethiopian soldier from Eritrea was regarded as a declaration that the liberation task was completed. Thus, the Eritrean people have managed after 30 years of sacrifices to crown their struggle with this historic achievement.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why was the timetable set for the referendum on Eritrea's future extended to two years?

[Al-Burj] We could understand it if the request to postpone the referendum had come from the Ethiopian authorities since this has happened on several occasions in Africa and Asia, but we cannot accept that the request

come from the Eritrean side. Since every party has denied asking for the referendum to be conducted after two years (statements by the [Eritrean] People's [Liberation] Front [EPLF] and Tigre Front representatives in London), then it must be a third party which decided this and was approved by the two parties. This became clear later, since the decision was an American one!

[AL-HAWADITH] Why do the other Eritrean groups oppose what the EPLF is doing?

[Al-Burj] We are eager to emphasize that we are not against the EPLF nor do we differ with it over what has been achieved since it is a victory achieved by all the Eritrean people. We do differ with it over what should happen now and over forming Eritrea's political future. We Eritreans see ahead of us major challenges and real dangers surrounding the battle for independence, and if Eritrea's liberation was a historic victory for the Eritrean people, we fear lest the battle for independence turn into a tragic loss of all these achievements and that the Eritrean people be prevented from achieving the natural outcome of their great sacrifices and legitimate, national aspirations. We want to identify the points that pose a threat to those who reject Eritrea's independence.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about Ethiopia's position on Eritrea's liberation?

[Al-Burj] It must be registered here that the Tigre Front has politically and nationally upheld the Eritrean people's right to self-determination, and it has shouldered the responsibility for expressing this position as an authority running affairs in Ethiopia today. We must also testify that the new Ethiopian leadership has learned the lessons with a comprehensive vision and commitment to democracy that will help a great deal in formulating a healthy and correct relationship between the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples in the future, but the Tigre Front is not the only one in Ethiopia. It faces increasing internal and external pressures to persuade it to backtrack on its support for the Eritreans' secession. Besides, Ethiopia's political and social structure will not allow the Tigre Front to make any decision on Eritrea alone. It will ultimately be forced to submit to the Ethiopian accord in order to safeguard its interests as a province and its status at the central level. [passage omitted]

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the U.S. role toward Eritrea?

[Al-Burj] The United States is known as the leader of the free world and as the defender of human rights, and it promotes the democratic system. In fact it has committed itself to implementing UN resolutions and engaged in an all-out war in defense of these resolutions during the recent Gulf crisis. This is the general picture of the United States; as Eritreans and as a part of this world, we appreciate and commend those who defend freedom and call for democracy, especially when it comes to major states such as the United States, but

there is a special characteristic which concerns us Eritreans and prompts us to seek answers to certain questions, but ultimately its aim is not to negate the picture I described but to emphasize it. We do not intend to cast doubt on the foregoing. The objective is to complete and safeguard the picture.

[AL-HAWADITH] There is total conviction among the Eritreans that the United States does not support Eritrea's independence. The question is why?

[Al-Burj] True, past experience during the self-determination period is always in the mind and is remembered by the Eritreans. So the concern about the future U.S. position proceeds from past experience, and present indications increase this concern:

1. The prime concern of the United States is to guarantee Ethiopia's stability and unity, and for the sake of this the other plans in the region can be halted.

2. The decision to conduct the referendum in two years is aimed at giving the Ethiopian regime the opportunity to organize its conditions, achieve stability, and restore the collapsed central authority.

3. The essence of the conditions for the new Ethiopian leadership is that democracy must be implemented, human rights must be guaranteed, and national accord must be achieved; otherwise there will be no U.S. or European aid or any political support for the new regime (in Addis Ababa).

4. Regarding Eritrea, no conditions were set for the EPLF leadership. Matters have been left as they are. As an aide to Herman Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said, that principle can be exchanged for the time factor. In other words, to leave matters to interact over the two years in Eritrea, then eventually new developments can be dealt with in accordance with general principles!

5. Herman Cohen's recent statement, in which he said specifically: We believe that safeguarding Ethiopian territorial integrity during the two years can persuade the Eritreans to join unified Ethiopia and vote for that in the referendum...so there is no change in our position!

6. U.S. contacts with certain Arab states to convince them of the unrealistic nature of the slogan of Eritrean independence: The pretext is that Eritrea is a poor country that cannot rely on its own resources, so independent Eritrea would be a factor that would lead to the exhaustion of the Arab states' resources! [passage omitted]

Uganda

Government Expresses 'Shock' Over Arms Incident

*EA0209212891 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1900 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] The government would like to inform the public that it has been confirmed that Uganda-registered aircraft Five-XUCM has been impounded and is now in Yugoslavia and a quantity of arms was found on board. The government has with profound shock learned that contrary to the flight plan and contrary to well known government policy of total observance of sanctions against South Africa, the state aircraft flew to (Madus) airport in Bophuthatswana homeland in the RSA and picked 19 tonnes of arms and ammunition.

The aircraft, operated on lease by the Uganda Airlines, was returned to the owner, Aviation Leasing Group, ALG, a USA-based company, on the 15th of August 1991. According to the facts so far established, the aircraft, which is still on Ugandan registry, left Entebbe on Thursday, 29th of August 1991, at 1950 local time on its charter organized by the ALG. The plane, according to the flight plan, was supposed to proceed to Gaborone with Bulawayo as an alternative airport, however, the plane was actually directed to Bophuthatswana in the RSA. The aircraft then returned to Entebbe on Friday, 30th of August 1991 at 2020 local time on its way to Europe. On board were cargo described in the cargo manifesto as general cargo, technical equipment.

The aircraft then departed after one hour, 2100 local time, with Ljubljana as its final destination. It has now been confirmed that the aircraft was forced to land at Zagreb airport in Yugoslavia and a quantity of arms was found on board.

The statement which was issued by the minister of works, transport and communications, Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, said the Uganda Government regrets this unfortunate incident and reaffirms its well known stand against the policy of apartheid and its full support for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa until apartheid is fully eliminated. Furthermore, the government reaffirmed the existing good and cordial relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The government will carry out investigations into the circumstances surrounding this incident and will take appropriate measures against the culprits.

Talks With Iranian Delegation Open 29 August

*EA3008112091 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1711 GMT 29 Aug 91*

[Text] Iran is to open a fully fledged embassy in Kampala soon. This was disclosed today by the president of Mostazafan Foundation, Mr. Mohsen Rafiqdust, who is leading a 30-man delegation to Uganda from the Republic of Iran. The Iranian delegation, which arrived

this morning, opened talks at the International Conference Center this afternoon with Ugandan officials led by the minister of commerce, cooperatives, and marketing, Mr. Richard Kaijuka.

Mr. Rafiqdust told the meeting that his delegation is here to explore areas of cooperation between his country and Uganda in trade, transport and tourism, industry and mining, construction, agriculture, and animal breeding and health. He said that the Mostazafan is the largest single body in Iran which runs most of the commercial and industrial activities of the Iranian Government. Mr. Rafiqdust said the delegation is on a serious business mission which implied investment and other activities [words indistinct].

Museveni Meets Iranians

EA3108203291 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1907 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The visiting Iranian delegation led by the president of the Mostazafan Foundation, Mr. Mohsen Rafiqdust, has called on President Museveni at his home in Rakitura, Mbarara district. [passage omitted] The president and his visitors discussed a number of issues centering on joint ventures between their two countries, especially in agricultural and animal industry. President Museveni said that Uganda is rich in raw materials stretching from agricultural to minerals to fresh water resources as well as tourism. He said that the country needs machines to process the raw materials into finished products and then market them with added value.

Mr. Museveni also said that beef, leather, textiles, and edible oil are other sectors joint ventures can be entered into as well as enhancing trade. In reply, Mr. Rafiqdust said that his visit to Uganda is aimed at assessing what the two countries can do jointly in the agricultural, industrial, and other sectors. He observed that Uganda has great potential, adding that a joint venture arrangement is the best because Iranians are anxious to meet their Ugandan counterparts to participate fully in the ventures.

The outgoing Iranian ambassador, who accompanied his country's delegation, used the occasion to take leave of the president. He has been recalled home where he will be in charge of African affairs in the Iranian Foreign Ministry.

[Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English at 0400 GMT on 31 August adds: "The Uganda Government and the Iranian Mostazafan and Janbanzan foundation have signed a communique in which the two sides have agreed to set up a five-man committee of officials to establish a joint venture holding company with Ugandan parastatals, companies, or individuals to explore ways of investment in technology, science, agriculture, industry, commerce, forestry, textiles, and construction. The communique was signed yesterday in Kampala by the minister of commerce, cooperatives and marketing, Mr. Richard Kaijuka, on behalf of the Uganda Government, and Mr. Mohsen Rafiqdust on behalf of the foundation.

"In the terms of the communique, the Mostazafan and Janzaban [foundation] with other Ugandan counterparts will undertake to explore livestock development, irrigation, agricultural mechanization, and plant protection as well as train Ugandans in modern agricultural practices in Iran at the expense of the foundation. They will also, among other things, jointly study the production and processing of fruits in Uganda for overseas markets as well as establishing a nucleus for contacting outgrowers of oil seeds, such as simsim, cotton seeds and sunflower. In the short term, the foundation has agreed to go with a joint partner in trade in bananas, mangoes, pineapples, and a variety of other fruits as well as investing in cold storage, packaging, and transportation of the said fruits.

"In the field of industry, the foundation has shown interest in the leather tanning industry and manufacture of prefabricated wooden houses, packaging, boxes, and wooden floor tiles. These, however, will depend on the proper takeoff of the livestock industry and Ugandans' ability to provide logs. The Ugandan counterpart will import from Mostazafan and Janbanzan foundation, motorcycles, bicycles and their spare parts, ceramics, metallic ware, roofing materials, office furniture, electric and electronic equipment, salt, dates, carpets and paraffin refrigerators. The foundation will also undertake to construct a polyclinic in Uganda and train the staff to run it.

"The signing of the communique is a follow-up of President Yoweri Museveni's visit to Iran in March last year to explore ways of expanding trade, science and technological cooperation."]

Reportage on, Reaction to Hunger Strikers**ANC Official on Release**

MB2908183591 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The President of the ANC [African National Congress] in South Africa, Nelson Mandela, has added his weight to the ANC's support for the release of three white prisoners who are on hunger strike. The three, members of the extreme rightwing AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] are demanding their release under the terms of the amnesty for political prisoners declared by the government. The government says they are not to be freed, but Mr. Mandela says they should be released on humanitarian grounds alone. On the line to Johannesburg, Rashid Meer asked ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus why they were backing the release of AWB members.

[Begin recording] [Niehaus] Well what has happened is that the hunger strikers are coming forth and providing information about what they have done, what they have been involved in, in covert operations. The ANC has made [words indistinct] and also in taking the press statements that President de Klerk has made over the last few days, we understand that it is possible for these people to be granted indemnity if they actually come forward with information that will be helpful to clear the political situation in South Africa. It is in that context that we are now saying that they should be granted indemnity because they are coming forward and giving us information about their involvement with Military Intelligence and with National Intelligence Service.

[Meer] Does this mean that the ANC accepts that the acts that these people were convicted of were in fact political acts rather than criminal acts against black people?

[Niehaus] No, that doesn't follow necessarily at all. What the ANC has constantly said is that we have negotiated a set of criteria of what a political offense is, as far as we are concerned, for ANC members. How the government intends to implement those criteria for other people, for other groups like rightwingers, it is really an issue that is between the rightwingers and the government. All we are saying at this point is that people who are coming forward, giving information, trying to clear the political air should be granted indemnity as President de Klerk promised when he had his press conference after the secret funding scandal broke, but that does not mean that we see their actions in the same light as the political offenses of the cadres of the African National Congress.

[Meer] Does the ANC not feel that people who have been going around shooting black people for no reason other than the fact that these people were black, should in fact be punished?

[Niehaus] We believe, obviously, that what they have done is totally unacceptable and totally wrong, but we have also said that in the face of a situation in South Africa where it is necessary to try and normalize the political process, where it is necessary for all the undermining activities of the government to come out in the open, that it should be possible to grant indemnity to people who do come out and state what they know exactly.

[Meer] Mr. Niehaus, isn't this really about the ANC just trying to get publicity by making a humanitarian gesture?

[Niehaus] No, not at all. The ANC is taking here a position which is clearly meant to try and bring stability into South Africa, and it is not necessarily always a very popular position that we have taken. But we have taken this for the sake of the peace process. So we are not here just involved in trying to score cheap political points. It is trying, as we have done right from the beginning when we got involved in this negotiating process, trying, as far as it is humanely possible for us, to secure that process. [end recording]

LHR Urges Peace Negotiations

MB3008125291 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Lawyers for Human Rights [LHR] have called on the rightwing to join peace negotiations. LHR Director Brian Curren says the rightwing leaders should hold talks with the government on the issue of their political prisoners.

Curren urges the rightwing hunger strikers to suspend their fast pending the outcome of such talks with the government. However, Curren says the rightwing should be willing to suspend violence before they can expect their prisoners to be granted political indemnity. He says ANC [African National Congress] prisoners only received political amnesty once their organization had suspended the armed struggle.

Curren also encourages the government to resolve the rightwing hunger crisis in a (?judicial) manner. Specifically, he wants the state to address the rightwing demand for nationhood as opposed to the protection of minority rights.

Hunger Striker Refuses Bail

MB3008181491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1754 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Pretoria Aug 30 SAPA—Rightwing hunger-striker Dr Lood van Schalkwyk has refused the offer of R[and]5,000 bail, his lawyer Wim Cornelius confirmed after meeting the protester on Friday night. Mr Cornelius said Dr Van Schalkwyk "would review his position on Tuesday". He would not elaborate.

The other two hunger-strikers, Mr Adrian Maritz and Mr Henry Martin, also confirmed to Mr Cornelius that they would not apply for bail and would continue their fast until they received political indemnity or were released on humanitarian grounds.

The Department of Justice earlier on Friday set bail of R5,000 for Dr Van Schalkwyk who has been fasting for 40 days. Dr Van Schalkwyk did not accept the bail because of conditions placed on him by the attorney-general, Mr Cornelius told SAPA later on Friday.

Further on Bail Refusal

MB3108104591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1031 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By Ada Stuijt]

[Text] Pretoria Aug 31 SAPA—Three rightwing hunger-strikers have refused all offers of bail made by the deputy attorney-general of the Transvaal during negotiations on Saturday morning, according to the trio's lawyer, Mr Wim Cornelius. Addressing a news conference on Saturday morning, Mr Cornelius said during the negotiations between the hunger-strikers, Deputy Attorney-General Mr Paul Fick and the security police, one of the protesters, Dr Lood van Schalkwyk, became so upset he required 10mg of morphine to calm him. The bail offers were unprecedented in South African legal history, Mr Cornelius said, as the applications were not made by the hunger-strikers, but by the South African Government.

Mr Cornelius said the hunger strikers—Mr Henry Martin, Mr Adrian Maritz and Dr Van Schalkwyk—were determined that the government recognise them as political prisoners. The three had already been granted indemnity for 20 of the 26 charges against them, Mr Cornelius said.

"This clearly indicates that the acts for which they have already been indemnified were political acts...and as the six remaining charges flowed directly from the original 26 charges, it is ludicrous to suggest that they were not politically motivated," the lawyer continued. Mr Fick refused to speak to journalists outside Pretoria's H.F. Verwoerd Hospital, where the hunger-strikers are being kept.

Meanwhile, Mr Cornelius said that both Mr Maritz and Dr Van Schalkwyk had been refusing water since Thursday afternoon and were dehydrated. "You can lift the skin on Mr Maritz's hand and it remains standing upright, which is an indication of severe dehydration according to the nurses," he said.

The lawyer said the protesters' wives were only being allowed two 30 minute visits each day.

"Prior to the indemnity refusal however, the wives all had unfettered access to their husbands, which meant that they could monitor them if they dropped into a coma, and could help them drink water frequently. Now, the restrictions on the wives is taking a toll and speeding the deaths of these

men. The only reason I can see for these visiting restrictions is to cause a psychological breakdown."

Mr Cornelius said the restrictions were "a vicious form of pressure on these men to force them" to end their hunger-strike. "I objected most strenuously in my talks with Mr Fick on Saturday about this kind of unfair pressure, and pointed out that the wives of African National Congress [ANC] hunger-strikers always had unlimited access to their husbands in hospital. The deputy attorney-general promised he would give this matter his attention at the highest level on Saturday."

Mr Cornelius said medical practitioner Dr Pol Doussy had attempted to visit the three men on Thursday and Friday in terms of the Tokyo Declaration, which deals with the treatment of imprisoned hunger strikers. However, Dr Doussy was denied access to the men, the lawyer said.

Mr Cornelius also attacked a report in an Afrikaans morning daily newspaper, which claimed Dr Van Schalkwyk had not been a qualified medical practitioner. "Dr Van Schalkwyk is a fully qualified medical practitioner and anyone saying otherwise is attempting to smear him."

Mr Cornelius said he had advised Mr Maritz and Dr Van Schalkwyk to start drinking water again as soon as possible. Mr Cornelius said the only hope for the men's survival was that all the political and religious organisations asking for the hunger-strikers' release put pressure on State President F.W. de Klerk to free the men on humanitarian grounds. He said he feared the planned visit on Monday by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela might already be too late.

"Mr Martin is in a very serious condition and requires oxygen because he stops breathing regularly. Mr Maritz is extremely weak, terribly dehydrated and he looks like one of the pictures one saw of prisoners from the Belsen concentration camp shortly after World War 2. Mr Maritz can barely talk, his lips are chalky and are sticking together. Even a healthy person cannot last without water for longer than 72 hours—while he has been without water since Thursday afternoon."

Meanwhile, small groups of rightwingers began gathering outside the hospital from 11.30AM on Saturday. They frequently made comments while Mr Cornelius addressed the media, with one man shouting: "H.F. Verwoerd Hospital has become another Boer concentration camp where our people are allowed to starve to death." He was alluding to the concentration camps set up during the second Anglo-Boer War, in which many Afrikaner women and children died.

A delegation of various rightwing leaders are expected to visit the hunger strikers at 3PM on Saturday. Members of other organisations, including the ANC, the SA [South African] Council of Churches, the Democratic Party and

the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], are also expected to visit the men during the weekend.

Hospital authorities have consistently attempted to remove journalists from the public area outside the hospital where they have been awaiting developments. On Friday night, a security guard demanded that reporters stay 300m from the hospital's front entrance. When they refused to comply, they were told they would be arrested by the police. The police did not arrive however.

UK Diplomat on Henry Martin

MB0109184291 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 1 Sep 91 pp 1,2

[Report by Cas St Leger and Peta Krost: "Riddle of the Death Fast"]

[Excerpt] A British diplomat who visited right-wing hunger striker Henry Martin, reported to be at death's door on the 55th day of his fast, said he was sitting up in bed, smoking cigarettes and talking clearly.

Mr Norman Ling, British deputy consul-general in Johannesburg—who saw Martin in the H.F. Verwoerd hospital in Pretoria on Friday—also said the hunger striker was drinking water.

The diplomat said that from what he had heard and read, he had expected Martin, 49, to be in far worse condition than he was.

Mr Ling's description of the hunger striker directly contradicts statements by Martin's lawyer, Mr Wim Cornelius. He said yesterday his client had drunk no water since Thursday and was close to death.

The Department of Correctional Services will not disclose when the right-wing hunger strikers began their fast, nor will it comment on their condition.

Mr Cornelius, who saw Martin and fellow hunger striker Adrian Maritz, 43, yesterday, said afterwards: "They look like victims of a concentration camp.

"Their eyes are sunken and black. Their skin is a chalky, yellow colour because their kidneys are giving in and they are so thin you can see detail of every bone. They are dehydrated. They haven't drunk since Thursday night.

"Martin is smoking to stay awake because he is afraid of going into a coma. He can hardly talk and to hear him I have to put my ear to his mouth.

"I am sure there'll be a death within hours. They are in desperate need of medical attention."

But Mr Ling, who visited British citizen Martin in his room where he is under police guard, said: "I wouldn't say his death is imminent. He confirmed to me that he was drinking water. He's very weak, he has obviously lost

a lot of weight (from 105kg to about 70 kg) but he is still conscious. He needs oxygen from time to time to build up his strength.

"He can talk. He is not in a coma. He certainly was not when I was there. We talked for about an hour.

"Martin's main problem is sleep. When you haven't taken food for a length of time, you drift off to sleep very easily. He smokes to keep himself awake.

"The effort of keeping his eyelids open is difficult for him, hence he closes his eyes when he talks. As far as I could see, his eyesight wasn't impaired. He could certainly register my presence.

"I didn't know Martin before his hunger strike, but my impression is that he was a very fit man.

"He said he was very fat when he went in (to prison). My impression as a non-medical man is that, although he is a very sick man, and very weak—there's no denying that—he is going to last some time yet unless he has a heart attack.

"He prides himself on not having a bedpan, but he may still have to be carried. I don't know." [passage omitted]

Further on UK Diplomat's Comments

MB0109201691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2001 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By Ada Stuijt]

[Text] Pretoria Sept 1 SAPA—The lawyer of the three rightwing hunger strikers is filing a complaint against the Justice Department on Monday concerning the release of information about Dr Lood van Schalkwyk which could allegedly prejudice his right to a fair trial.

Mr Wim Cornelius told SAPA on Sunday that an Afrikaans newspaper had quoted an unknown spokesman from the Justice Department, who allegedly released details of Dr Van Schalkwyk's previous criminal convictions. "Publishing such information prior to a man's trial is totally against all legal court procedure," Mr Cornelius said.

"We will want to know from the Justice Department who released this prejudicial information, to what purpose it had been released and how the department could now expect my clients to get any kind of fair trial, after every judge or magistrate has been prejudiced by the advance knowledge of a previous conviction by reading it in a newspaper.

"The human rights of my clients have been severely interfered with by the Justice Department releasing this information and we will demand to know why this was done, and to what purpose."

Meanwhile, the British deputy consul-general in Johannesburg, Mr Norman Ling in a statement expressed

"deep concern for the well-being of the hunger striker Mr Henry Martin who is a British citizen".

Mr Ling denied telling a Sunday newspaper that Mr Martin had been sitting upright in bed during his visit last week.

"What I in fact emphasised was that Mr Martin was lying down in bed, I described his external condition as I was able to observe it from a non-medical viewpoint and that we at the embassy were deeply concerned about his condition. The fact that Mr Martin now enters the 56th day of his hunger strike speaks for itself," Mr Ling concluded.

The hunger strikers were continuing their fast on Sunday, according to their wives.

Dr Van Schalkwyk started fasting on July 22 and Mr Adrian Maritz on July 15 and both have refused water since Thursday afternoon.

Mr Cornelius told SAPA both men were so emaciated and dehydrated they looked like people photographed in German concentration camps during World War II. The water strike was prompted by the refusal to grant their wives, Heather Martin and Karin Maritz, full visiting rights.

Negotiations about the visiting rights have been going on since Saturday between the lawyer, the security police and the deputy attorney-general of the Transvaal, Mr Paul Fick. The negotiations were continuing on Sunday and no decision had been taken by Sunday evening.

The wives are presently only allowed two daily visits of half an hour each. They are demanding the right to remain at bedside in order to monitor their men's water intake and prevent them from slipping into a permanent coma.

Meanwhile, rightwingers are for the most part apparently happy about the forthcoming visit to the hunger strikers on Monday by ANC [African National Congress] leader Mr Nelson Mandela, according to Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party [Boer Homeland Party].

He told SAPA some members of the Order Boerevolk [Order of the Boer Nation] to which the three hunger strikers belong were opposed to Mr Mandela's visit, but that the majority of people who were close to the three men were much in favour of the visit.

Justice Department To Investigate

MB0209053291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0527 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 2 SAPA—The Department of Justice has taken note of a complaint by the lawyer of three rightwing hunger strikers concerning the release of information which could allegedly prejudice one of the men's right to a fair trial. The lawyer, Mr Wim Cornelius, on Sunday told SAPA that an Afrikaans newspaper had quoted an unidentified spokesman from the Justice Department, who allegedly released details of hunger striker Dr Lood van Schalkwyk's previous criminal convictions.

Mr Cornelius said he would be filing a complaint to the department on Monday, as the publication of such information prior to a man's trial was "totally against all legal court procedure". SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] TV news reports a Justice Department spokesman said the circumstances about the alleged release of information would be investigated.

The men are awaiting trial on charges linked to two explosion which killed one and injured 13 people last year. They have been refusing food for at least five weeks demanding political status and indemnity from prosecution.

Mandela's Visit Noted

MB0209073991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0708 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Pretoria Sept 2 SAPA—The visit by ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela to rightwing hunger-strikers at H. F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria on Monday showed the ANC was aware of the desperation of the Boers to establish their own republic, Boerestaat [Boer Homeland] Party Leader Robert van Tonder said on Monday. He said in a statement to SAPA allegations of contact between the rightwing and the ANC were incorrect.

"The ANC has spoken out clearly against the establishment of a Boere state and there will be, under no circumstances, any negotiations with the ANC," Mr Van Tonder added. He said the visit also disproved government allegations that the crimes the three hunger-strikers—Dr Lood van Schalkwyk, Mr Adrian Maritz and Mr Henry Martin—committed were not political and they did not qualify for political amnesty.

Deputy Resigns Over Mandela Visit

MB0209101191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0956 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 2 SAPA—The deputy leader of the Orde Boerevolk [Order of the Boer People], C. J. B. Vermaak, on Monday announced his resignation from his leadership position in the organisation, saying he objected to plans for Nelson Mandela and the South African Council of Churches [SACC] to visit three hunger striking right-wingers in a Hospital in Pretoria.

Mr Vermaak said in a statement to SAPA he had decided to resign after learning that the right-wingers' legal representative, Wim Cornelius, had announced that Mr Mandela and the SACC would be allowed to visit the men "on so-called humanitarian grounds".

"True right-wing freedom fighters see Mandela as part of the enemy and would never allow a person such as Mandela to speak to prisoners in detention," Mr Vermaak's statement said.

He added the three men in the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital were in such a weakened state that they had no choice in the matter of the visits. Mr Mandela was also being

allowed to score cheap political points from the "tragedy" of the hunger strikers. Mr Vermaak was distancing himself from the Orde Boervolk's leadership because of contact with "left-wing enemy elements".

White Mineworkers Urge Release

MB0209133691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1205 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 2 SAPA—The White Mineworkers Union [MWU] on Monday [2 September] called on State President F W de Klerk to release three hunger-striking rightwingers on humanitarian grounds. An MWU statement to SAPA said the three—Dr Lood van Schalkwyk, Mr Henry Martin and Mr Adrian Maritz—should be released, pending the outcome of an investigation into allegations they committed the acts they were charged with under orders from an arm of the state.

The government had set a precedent by releasing a number of leftwing hunger strikers and, therefore, should do the same for the rightwing, the MWU said.

Mandela, De Klerk To Meet

MB0209134891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1323 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Pretoria Sept 2 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela said on Monday [2 September] he would visit the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, on Tuesday morning and ask for the immediate release of three rightwing hunger-strikers on humanitarian grounds. Mr Mandela, after his visit to the three men at Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital, said he had an appointment to discuss the release of ANC prisoners with Mr de Klerk and would also take up the indemnity application for the three rightwingers—Mr Henry Martin, Mr Adrian Maritz and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk.

"These men impress me as being very sincere and I am convinced that they have very valuable information to give about the role of the National Intelligence Service and military intelligence who had instructed them to commit some heinous offences," Mr Mandela told journalists after the visit. "We feel that it is important to have all these matters into the open if we are going to have a lasting settlement," he added.

Mr Mandela said he had not asked the men to end their fast as it had merely been his duty to see that they were released immediately. He exchanged pleasantries with several members of the rightwing organisation the men represent—the Orde Boerevolk [Order of the Boer People].

Mr Mandela said the meeting was pleasant and the men were very excited and encouraged by his visit. He said he was impressed by their serious medical condition. "I do not think that what they say they have to tell us is a pretence. I sincerely believe that these men have the information they claim. I believe what they tell me.

There is no doubt that these men have that information," Mr Mandela emphasised.

Asked whether he viewed the men as political prisoners, he said it was his immediate concern they be released on humanitarian grounds. Mr Mandela was greeted after his visit to the fasters by a large contingent of black hospital workers who cheered and sang after he had addressed the media. He said he appreciated having been able to meet members of the rightwing and was encouraged by the development.

Mr Wim Cornelius, the lawyer of the three hunger-strikers, who accompanied Mr Mandela on his visit together with Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Nic Strydom, said the three men thanked Mr Mandela for the humanitarian gesture he displayed by visiting them. "Mr Mandela said the condition of these men was very grave and told them he would ask for their immediate release during his visit to Mr de Klerk on Tuesday," Mr Cornelius said.

The meeting between Mr Mandela and the rightwingers had been "warm and in a spirit of human kindness", he added. He emphasised, however, the atmosphere in the ward itself was gloomy because of the men's condition.

The lawyer admitted there had been objections from certain rightwingers to Mr Mandela's visit. He believed, however, the visit was in the men's best interests. "This is the first time that both the leftwing and the rightwing are in total agreement on one specific issue and it is important to note the men expressed their interest and willingness to participate in future constitutional talks," Mr Cornelius said.

He added that Mr Martin and Mr Maritz were the only men who were actually able to discuss matters lucidly with Mr Mandela. Dr van Schalkwyk was too ill to speak. Mr Cornelius said the only hunger striker, who was still refusing to take water, was Mr Maritz. "Because Mr Maritz is approaching critical condition due to the water strike, his wife has taken to sleeping in the corridor of the ward as she still does not have unfettered access to her husband—she still requires written permission for two daily visits of a half-hour each."

The men will continue their hunger strike until they were given indemnity, according to Mr Cornelius and Mr Strydom. Mr Martin is on the 56th day of his fast while Mr Maritz is on the 49th day and Dr van Schalkwyk is in his 42nd day.

One of the best known political hunger-strikers of modern times, IRA member Bobby Sands, who was elected to England's House of Commons as an MP while fasting, died after refusing food for 66 days. He started his strike in Belfast's Maze Prison on March 1, 1981, and died on May 5.

Bishops' Conference Urges Release

*MB0209181691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1423 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 2 SAPA—The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) on Monday [2 September] asked for the release of the three rightwing hunger-strikers "not only on humanitarian grounds, but in order to stand trial". In a statement in Pretoria, it said the three men may themselves have been victims of a system "that condoned, if not ordered, their acts, so we ask that justice should prevail. In the name of our Lord, let us have no more blood on our hands".

CP Spokesman Comments

*MB0209182291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1808 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 2 SAPA—The government now had to lie in the bed it made for itself over the Indemnity Act, the Conservative Party [CP] spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager, said in a statement on Monday [2 September]. Mr de Jager, commenting on indemnity against prosecution granted for political crimes, said rightwing offenders had to be treated the same as those on the left.

The crimes the three rightwing hunger-strikers were said to have committed—the bombing of a taxi rank in Bloed Street, Pretoria and the blowing up of a computer in Durban which led to the death of a computer technician—had occurred before the cut-off date for indemnity; October 8 last year. All three hunger-strikers—Mr Henry Martin, Dr Lood van Schalkwyk and Mr Adrian Maritz—qualified for indemnity under the act, he said.

He called on the government not to let the three die while indemnifying and releasing leftwing hunger-strikers on humanitarian grounds. The government in its handling of the situation had painted itself into a corner and had to accept the responsibility for its decisions, he added.

Justice Ministry on Indemnity

*MB0309070191 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
0500 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Text] A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice says the three rightwingers who are on hunger strike in the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria do not need indemnity to give evidence of their alleged connection with the security forces. The spokesman was reacting in a statement to a call by the president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, that the three be granted indemnity so that their evidence could be made public. He said that the three would have ample opportunity during their trial to disclose any connection they might have with the security forces. He said subjecting

such evidence to the scrutiny of a court of law would give it additional credibility, enabling the government to take appropriate steps.

The spokesman said that should the information at the disposal of the hunger strikers not be connected with the court case, they could ask to give evidence before the proposed commission on public violence and intimidation. Such evidence could not be used against them in a court of law. He said it was therefore not necessary to receive indemnity in order to testify before the commission.

Hunger Striker Suffers Heart Attack

*MB0309071091 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Text] Right-wing hunger striker Lood van Schalkwyk's wife Heather says he suffered a fourth heart attack yesterday. When reached for comment, a correctional services spokesman confirmed that Van Schalkwyk complained of chest pains and had been given the necessary treatment. Mrs. van Schalkwyk says her husband required 90 seconds of defibrillation to get his heart restarted.

Heather van Schalkwyk and the wife of another hunger striker, Caren Maritz, also say they believe attempts were made over the weekend to force-feed Henry Martin. In reaction Prison Spokesman Colonel Danie Immerman says Martin was taking liquids, but the allegation that he is being force-fed is untrue.

Both wives say they intend visiting the new correctional services minister, Adriaan Vlok, at his office this morning. They plan to discuss their husbands' treatment and problems they have in visiting them. They are only allowed two half-hour visits a day.

Boer Leader Wants End To Strike

*MB0309102691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0932 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 3 SAPA—One day after ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela visited the three rightwing hunger-strikers at the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria, the militant Boere Vryheidsbeweging [Boer Freedom Movement—BVB] called on the men to stop their fast, saying "anti-Christian forces" were abusing the situation. The BVB in a statement on Tuesday also said the hunger-strike was not Biblically ethical.

"It (the hunger strike) places matters on a disastrous and unblest path which is already apparent from the fact that anti-Christian forces, which are sworn enemies of the Christian-republican, volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland]-struggling Boere people, are now coming forward as welldoers and are also abusing the situation for their continuing revolutionary onslaught on the security forces." The BVB statement did not refer directly to Mr Mandela's visit on Monday.

30 Aug Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB3008120791

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Call for Release of Hunger-Striking Right-Wingers—Johannesburg **THE CITIZEN** in English on 29 August in its page 6 editorial is "sorry that the government will not free the Right-wing hunger strikers." "In normal circumstances, the government would be right to refuse to bow to the blackmail of hunger strikers or threats." However, "when the government entered into an agreement with the ANC to grant indemnity or amnesty for ANC prisoners, some of whom were guilty of heinous crimes, it opened itself to similar pressure from the Right." The death of any of the three rightwingers "would spur Right-wing extremists to wreak vengeance. It simply isn't worth the risk."

THE STAR

Support for De Klerk's Indemnity Refusal for Rightwingers—Johannesburg **THE STAR** in English on 30 August in a page 12 editorial believes President De Klerk "had reason to reject" the plea for indemnity and release by three hunger-striking right-wing prisoners. The men face "charges of serious common-law crimes," and to have released them "even before they are brought to trial would have established a dangerous precedent." "Whatever the political consequences of making martyres out of hunger strikers—and they could be severe—Mr de Klerk could hardly ignore the undivided and reaffirmed legal opinion of the [indemnity] committee." **THE STAR** believes the best course for the men is to accept the bail offer from the Transvaal attorney general and stand trial. If they are convicted they will be able to apply for amnesty, "like many of the now freed ANC [African National Congress] prisoners."

BUSINESS DAY

Editorial on Criteria for Indemnity Pardons—Discussing the criteria used by government to decide whether the right-wingers currently on hunger strike qualify for indemnity, Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 30 August in a page 10 editorial states: "This may seem a cold, legalistic way of treating a case where the lives of three people are in the balance. But even in this unorthodox process of pardons and indemnification, we need to hold onto the concept of due process and the certainty of law. Otherwise the judicial system may as well be dispensed with." **BUSINESS DAY** also believes indemnity hearings should be "opened to the public."

SOWETAN

Government Praised for Rightwingers' Indemnity Refusal—"The three detained far rightwingers who are starving themselves to death in their bid for political indemnity have left the Government with a particularly

thorny problem," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg **SOWETAN** in English on 30 August. It would be "intolerable if every suspect taken by the police was to win his or her release by going on a hunger strike. Under the circumstances it would appear that the Government has taken the only decision it could, unpleasant though it might be."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Tax Changes Show Effects of Pressure on Government - Steven Friedman writes in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 19 of Johannesburg **THE WEEKLY MAIL** in English for 30 August to 5 September: "The government, having announced tax measures it insisted were the most efficient available, has been forced to alter them in the face of pressure." The value added tax changes "signal that the govern is open to pressure—but will not react in ways which make the society more stable."

Failed Soviet Coup Devastating for SACP—"The failed Soviet coup and its aftermath have come at a particularly devastating moment for the South Africa Communist Party [SACP]," states a page 22 editorial. "It faces a leadership vacuum, a cash crisis and the failure to transform its latent appeal in the townships into more than 15,000 members countrywide." The SACP's "only remaining strength is its influence within the ANC, which SACP cadres argue they have sacrificed their own movement to build. Ironically, it is the ANC that has now become the Party's life-support." "It is time the South African left to identify with Africa and the Third World—and not the faded glory of Lenin's revolution."

1 Sep Press Review

MB0209122091

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

National Party Up To Linguistic 'Trickery'—A great misunderstanding occurred in the perception that the National Party's slogan of "a vote of equal value" was equivalent to "one man one vote". The misunderstanding led to the various parties believing that "points of convergence" were emerging in the policies of the African National Congress and the National Party, states the page 26 editorial in Johannesburg **SUNDAY TIMES** in English on 1 September. "All this apparent progress has been put at risk, to use the mildest possible language, by the disclosure that, once again, the National Party is using language to conceal its meaning. What it appears to have in mind is not a democracy...but simple another version of the tawdry, manipulative devices dreamed up by Mr Chris Heunis, whose fantastical works have been swept aside by the tide of history." "The worst idea put forward by the Nationalists is the proposal to give votes of greater value to ratepayers, to enable them to dominate local authorities where the party hopes to concentrate much of the power of government. In essence, this is a franchise subject to a property qualification, aimed against

the property-less classes who were, under the laws of apartheid, denied the right to acquire property and sometimes deprived of it. This, truly, would be a system of government constructed on the injustices of the past, and one which would permanently entrench those injustices. To accept such a proposal would ensure catastrophe. It would make ownership of property the battleground of politics, and it would guarantee that, in seeking equality, the majority would assault the very title to land that gave ratepayers their political power. If the Nationalists wanted to destroy capitalism in this country, they could find no surer way of doing so." "Anyway, it's trickery. The party leaders prattle about the rule of law, but in their constitutional proposals they display faith only in the technical devices that may give them a manipulative advantage. The first task of a constitutional assembly, clearly, will be to persuade the Nationalists not only that there is no hope of establishing peace on the basis of unequal voting power, but that the attempt to do so by subterfuge will strengthen the opposition to good ideas like the decentralisation of power."

SUNDAY STAR

De Klerk Loses Face—Two events in the past week have served to deprive State President F.W. de Klerk of any right to speak for the Boer people: the cancellation of the National Party meeting at Parys and the decision not to pardon the three hunger-striking rightwingers, writes Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 1 September in its page 12 editorial. The cancellation of the Parys meeting was perceived by the Boers as a "capitulation". "The grudging respect commanded by President F.W. de Klerk for venturing into hostile Ventersdorp...vanished instantly. Echoes from a heroic past came flooding back: a government wat nie sy man kan staan nie [that cannot rise to the occasion]...does not deserve to govern at all." "The emotional stimulus to the radical Right will be incalculable but profound. Through its perceived pusillanimity, the National Party had forfeited its right to speak not only for the volk but to it too." The decision not to pardon the three hunger-striking rightwingers was unavoidable since their "alleged crimes do not fall within the definition of condonable offences; and, above all, the independent committee charged with considering all requests for amnesty declined to recommend it for the fasting trio. For the President to go against that weight of evidence would be to throw precepts of justice out of the window". "So martyrdom seems destined to be added to the explosive cocktail being brewed in the soul Afrikanerdom. No sane South African will find pleasure in that situation."

2 Sep Press Review

MB0209113691

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Democrats' Constitutional Proposals Welcome—Referring to the draft constitutional proposals put forward by the National Party, NP, and the African

National Congress, ANC, Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 2 September in a page 8 editorial states: "The NP wants so much power to be devolved that the centre is effectively hamstrung, and the ANC wants so little power to be devolved that the regions are effectively toothless. There are encouraging areas of convergence, but the chasm is clear." Now the Democratic Party, DP, has outlined its own set of proposals which cut "a neat swathe through the chasm and is a welcome contribution for that reason alone. But more than that, the timely DP intervention could in fact speed up the coming together of the NP and ANC by drawing on elements of each, and demonstrating that the sum of selected parts can be greater than either whole."

BUSINESS DAY

Finance Minister Not Controlling Economic Events—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 2 September in a page 8 editorial says economic events during August have shown "a highly disturbing pattern reflecting a lack of control of banana republic proportions." "Consider. The fiscal authority's failure adequately to sell to the public the value of the VAT [value added tax] system to be implemented later this month provoked a storm of public protest." "We were then treated to the spectacle, which would be almost comical were it not so serious, of three errors by the Central Statistical Service [CSS]. Both the producer and consumer price indices were discovered to have been incorrectly calculated. And the national census, conducted at great cost to the taxpayer, apparently lost five million citizens." Although the CSS is not part of the Finance Department and blame for these events does not lie at NP door, it "does not make it any less disturbing." Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, "seems unable effectively to handle his full range of Ministerial and party political responsibilities. He should be grateful, were he to be relieved of at least some of them."

SOWETAN

Police Must Act Against Political Factions in Township—"The time bomb which in Mshenguville started to explode at the weekend and at the time of going to press, six bodies had been found," notes the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 2 September. "There are horrific tales from squatters in the area being asked for R[and]40 each before they are allowed to flee the area." "There are many competing political and other factions at work in Mshenguville. But who they are is not the most important thing right now. The most important thing is that ordinary men and women are being caught in the vice and, as we report today, they are starting to die." "What must happen before the authorities will take a firm stand? This message is directed to both the South African Police and the Soweto City

Council: Let the police act hard and fast to restore order in Mshenguville and then let the Soweto Council at last take the sort of action which will demonstrate that it is the only authority in the area."

3 Sep Press Review

MB0309101191

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

'Complacency' Over AIDS Epidemic—While the Department of Health "admits that almost 10,000 new [AIDS] cases are being detected each month, the bald truth is that the department is nowhere near ready for a major pandemic," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 3 September. "The Government is not alone in its complacency. Black leaders have failed to persuade their own people of the potential threat. Many blacks believe AIDS is a plot to deter them from having babies. And white leaders have similarly failed to convince white people, who perceive AIDS as preponderantly a black disease, of its dire economic and social consequences for everyone. There has probably been no deliberate cover-up of statistics in South Africa—not like in Zimbabwe where the new Minister of Health suddenly revealed that more than one in four workers are HIV positive. But our figures may not be that different. One thing seems certain: HIV infection will have to become a notifiable disease." This could be done via "monthly returns" by all doctors, without identifying victims.

BUSINESS DAY

Nationalists Seek To Share Power—"The NP [National Party] decision to publish its constitutional proposals in Bloemfontein tomorrow, and then put them up for endorsement by each of the four provincial congresses, will test the degree to which ordinary Nationalists believe there is life after apartheid," says a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 3 September. "The NP's objective is not to lose power, but to move from total power to shared power. Its objective is a situation, for the transition at least and hopefully for much longer, in which whites share power at every decision-making level from municipalities to the presidency. The NP seems likely to emerge from its congress season with that as its mandated negotiating position." "The process of constitutional change is speeding up when Nationalists, and through them white South Africans in general, are made to face a future in which they are not rulers but ruled."

SOWETAN

Right-Wing Hunger Strikers Dilemma—"The African National Congress is certainly taking the plight of the rightwing hunger strikers to heart," begins Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 3 September in a page 6 editorial. If the men die, State President De Klerk and the government "will probably face mounting violence

from the far rightwing. The very conservative whites will accuse De Klerk of ignoring the issue simply because the hunger-strikers were white. The Government has already been accused of acting in bad faith because of its anger against rightwingers who tried to break up De Klerk's recent public meeting in Ventersdorp." But if the government "bows down to pressure to release the strikers, this will be used by the radical Right as a victory. It will also be a precedent that will place the Government in serious problems should other prisoners follow the same example." However, SOWETAN believes these rightwing hunger strikers "should not be allowed to die."

* Navy Chief Discusses New Role, Mission

91AF1323A Pretoria PARATUS in English
Jun 91 pp 4-6

[First paragraph is PARATUS introduction]

[Text] (In his paper, V Adm Woodburne summarises the background to the broader perspective the SA [Republic of South Africa] Navy's new mission portrays, stressing the fact that Navy's business is the sea. The emphasis is accordingly placed on its coast guard related tasks. V Adm Woodburne proceeds to describe the functions of a coast guard and gives a resume of naval capabilities. He explores some of the tasks the Navy could execute in order to fulfil its broader mission, and also describes those factors that could have a deciding influence on the Navy's ability to execute these functions.)

Introduction

You may recall that this time last year the South African Navy went through a painful process of reducing its overall size. This was accomplished by closing certain bases, rationalizing others, disbanding the marines and retrenching some 2,300 personnel, half of them civilians. This had become necessary, mainly for financial reasons, but also because there had been a shift in emphasis on the political front away from security to welfare. In addition, the economy had started to cool down which would have an effect on funds available to the military. Although traumatic, the re-structuring of the Navy resulted in a cleaner organisation with shorter and clearer command lines. Most significant was the fact that the operational side—the sea going side—was in no way affected by this reorganisation.

On completion of this process and because of the changed environment we found ourselves in, it was obvious that the Navy had to reformulate its mission. Where before we were mainly concerned with countering aggression from seaward, it was now obvious that we had to take a much broader perspective. We consequently went into a team building session and came out with the following mission: "To provide seaward military services."

Primarily these services will be provided to ensure the continued existence of the State in its maritime sphere of interest. As Naval business is directed at the sea and our

expertise lies mainly in our seagoing ability, the accent in the provision of the service is placed on "seaward." The main functions flowing from the reformulated mission are:

- a. Maritime operations.
- b. Hydrographic services.
- c. Assistance operations.

While it is our intention to maintain our high level of operational preparedness and hydrographic services, the latter of these three functions, namely assistance operations, will enjoy a considerable proportion of our attention and efforts in the years ahead, and this, in fact, is the topic of this paper. In this regard, I will place special emphasis in my discussion on coast guard related tasks.

Scope of Paper

The scope of this paper will cover the following:

- a. The functions of a coast guard.
- b. Summary of South Africa's Naval capabilities.
- c. Tasks the SA Navy could execute in future.
- d. Factors to be considered.
- e. Conclusion.

The Functions of a Coast Guard

In the last two decades, there has been an increasing demand for the formulation of a National Maritime Policy in order to protect the RSA's maritime interests in a more effective manner. As part of this process there has been a demand for the establishment of a coast guard, which was regarded as a better means to effectively protect our maritime environment. This led to the establishment of a commission to study the feasibility of such a coast guard in 1983. From this study it became clear that a coast guard would be expensive and would have to rely heavily on existing facilities available to the SA Navy and the SA Air Force.

Let us now look at the functions of a coast guard so that a clear understanding may be formed of how this organisation executes its functions. As a basis we studied the functions of the U.S. Coast Guard, being one of the few such services standing separate from its military equivalent. The functions of a coast guard can basically be divided into three, i.e., maritime law enforcement, maritime safety and maritime defence.

Maritime Law Enforcement. Maritime Law Enforcement includes the following tasks:

- a. Interdiction of smuggling and drug trafficking.
- b. Prevention of illegal immigration.
- c. Enforcement of fishery control regulations.
- d. Protection of maritime resources.
- e. Assistance to foreign states with respect to maritime laws.

Maritime Safety. Maritime Safety includes the following tasks:

- a. Search and rescue.
- b. Marine inspections and licencing.
- c. The provision and maintenance of navigation aids.
- d. Port safety and security.
- e. Environmental protection, referring to the control and regulation of means to protect the marine eco-system.
- f. Small craft safety, referring to the control and regulation over the safe operation of recreational boating.

Maritime Defence. Maritime Defence refers to the use of a coast guard to support a country's Navy in time of war, specifically in coastal operations.

A Short Resume of South Africa's Naval Capabilities

In the South African context, many of the above coast guard functions could be performed by the SA Navy. This must not be seen as a take-over on our behalf, but, in the current situation of limited government funds and changed emphasis, it would make sense to use the existing resources optimally in the interest of rationalization and economy.

Infrastructure. The SA Navy possesses an extensive maritime infrastructure, with two main Naval Bases at Simon's Town and Durban. In addition it has the capability, by using transportable logistic support units, to operate from any other port for extended periods. This infrastructure has been established to support our primary function, namely the conduct of maritime operations, and could be used as is to support many of the traditional coast guard functions.

Capable Ships and Men. As the Navy strives to maintain a high standard of operational readiness, training takes place continuously. In the same manner, our ships are maintained to be operationally ready at all times. It can thus be stated that the SA Navy has capable ships and men at its disposal at all times. In this regard it can be mentioned that this year the SA Navy has sixteen operational ships and submarines, i.e., twelve in Simon's Town and four in Durban. These figures do not include the harbour protection boats that are operated from certain of our ports.

Ship Repair Facilities. The Naval Dockyard in Simon's Town is one of the best equipped dockyards in Africa. Throughout the years it has built up expertise in the maintenance and repair of all aspects of Naval vessels, whether they be steel-hulled or wooden-hulled ships. In addition, the requirement to keep high technology weapon systems operational, has provided dockyard personnel with the necessary expertise to maintain and repair high technology equipment. This dockyard facility is further augmented by a highly specialized maintenance facility in Durban.

Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence System. To conduct operations at sea, the Navy has created an extended command, control, communications and intelligence system. This system enables the

Navy to communicate with its ships at sea, provide them with the necessary intelligence and control them according to the situation.

Maritime Air Support. The Navy has, what could be called, a standing working relationship with the SA Air Force, particularly the latter's maritime air component. Air support is indispensable in maritime operations, whatever their nature, including coast guard operations.

Possible Tasks for the New Navy

Taking into account the Navy stated capabilities, and the fact that our ships and submarines already undertake regular patrolling tasks, we can now concentrate on the possible tasks the Navy could execute in the future.

Anti-smuggling/Drug Trafficking Operations. Although limited with respect to close inshore operations, our ships are eminently suited to enforce the law in this respect to seaward. They have the necessary speed advantage, trained manpower and, above all, the weapons to enforce the law, if necessary. The execution of this function would also be in line with the requirements of international law. An example of this capability was the interception of a small freighter suspected of carrying drugs off Cape Point in December last year.

Fishery Protection Operations. Fishery Protection is a law enforcement task on behalf of the State, ensuring the protection of our maritime resources. You are well aware of the role the SA Navy has played during the past twelve months in this regard. During this period we were called upon to investigate suspected poachers on six occasions, leading to the arrest of three vessels. Once again, our ships are suited to the task, and we have been acting aggressively against those who plunder our scarce and precious fish resources. Although this has been an ongoing task for us, the time has come to formalize it. I must, however, stress that this task also requires air support to be effective.

Search and Rescue Operation. The SA Navy, in close co-operation with the SA Air Force, has been involved in search and rescue operations for many years. With the infrastructure and command and communications systems available to the Navy, I think the time has come for the Navy to play a bigger role in this respect. I must stress the fact, however, that the Navy aims to conduct search and rescue missions to seaward only and to leave the close inshore operations to the NSRI [National Sea Rescue Institute], a task which they execute admirably.

Pollution Control. The RSA coastline has thus far been fortunate in that it has escaped major pollution. Although some accidents have occurred, they have not been of the magnitude of the Exxon Valdez or Gulf of Mexico disasters. The question may well be asked whether the RSA would be in a position to cope with disasters of that scale. It is in this field that the SA Navy and its ships could play a significant supportive role. However, such tasks could not be taken on without the proper delegations, planning and the right

equipment. Should we do so, such a task would fall squarely within the ambit of providing a seaward service.

Assistance to Other State Departments and the Public. There are a number of aspects that can be addressed under this heading. The aspects that I will concentrate on, include assistance to the Departments of Environmental Affairs and Foreign Affairs, such as the diplomatic functions and certain services provided to public institutions.

a. Assistance to the Department of Environmental Affairs. As has been mentioned above the Navy has been assisting the Department of Environmental Affairs in fishery protection. Another example of support given to this Department was the successful transfer of a replacement helicopter and fuel from the SAS DRAKENSBURG to the AGULHAS off Bouvet Island, more or less half way between the Cape and the SA-NAE Base in Antarctica, in late January this year. This assistance role now needs to be formalised.

b. Assistance to the Department of Foreign Affairs. The SA Navy has the capability and the range to undertake missions for or on behalf of the Department of Foreign Affairs in waters far from home. Here I want to bring to your attention the example of the rescue of the Muller family from the Mozambique coast in the middle of 1990. The Navy played a decisive role in this human drama, displaying the ability to both project itself in an area outside South African waters and hold in that area as dictated by the situation. That operation was also a model example of cooperation and joint planning at all levels, including the Department of Foreign Affairs.

c. The Diplomatic Function. The Diplomatic Function is a function not always widely understood. Through the ages, navies of the world have been used to further the diplomatic initiatives of their countries. Largely under-utilized in the past, I am happy to report that the importance of this capability of the Navy is being recognised at last. During the last 12 months there have been a number of examples where the Navy has been used in this role: The training cruise by three ships to the Republic of China, SAS PROTEA'S visit to Lisbon in support of the Diaz Yacht Race, a SA Naval task group's assistance to the Navy of Zaire, and recently SAS TAFELBERG's training cruise to Chile. I strongly believe that these cruises and visits contribute tremendously towards breaking the RSA free from the stranglehold of international isolation. In addition, they are of immense training value and work wonders for Navy morale.

d. Assistance to Public Institutions. Under this heading I refer you to the assistance given by the Navy to amongst others, the yachting fraternity. An example being the presence and support of the Navy at the start of the BOC Yacht Race. A little known fact is that the Navy is responsible for the firing of the Cape Town's famous noon day gun, an important service to the community.

Factors To Be Considered

Were the SA Navy to provide the services mentioned on a more formal basis, i.e., if they were to be included as functions of the Navy, it would have to consider a number of factors. These could have an influence on any decisions that would have to be taken. These factors would include the role of national maritime policy, the financing of these extra tasks and responsibilities, the possible establishment of a coast guard arm within the Navy and client requirements with respect to seaward services.

The Role of National Maritime Policy. The role that a National Maritime Policy would play, cannot be stressed enough. This policy would lay down the RSA's approach to maritime matters, and would include such steps as to ensure rationalization of effort in maritime services. It could to a large extent also help determine what type of services the SA Navy should supply and the Navy's role within the National Maritime Policy. It would also prevent other State Departments from investing large amounts of money into services the Navy could provide not only comfortably with existing or with slightly increased resources, but also much more effectively. In this regard the question could be asked whether the SAP [South African Police] should have been allowed to invest so heavily in a water wing had such a policy existed.

Establishment of a Coast Guard Arm in the SA Navy. By virtue of its composition and its business, the Navy should comfortably accommodate most of the Coast Guard type functions. However, the effect this would have on its primary function needs to be studied. We may well have to consider the establishment of a separate arm in the Navy, possibly in the form of a flotilla, should the responsibility come our way.

Client Requirements. I have endeavoured to illustrate some of the tasks the Navy could perform. We are, however, well aware that there could be more. So far I have only stated those which are fairly obvious. The maritime community, as a potential client, needs to state its requirements, however. The Navy can then evaluate and formulate possible solutions as to how these requirements could be met.

Conclusion

In conclusion I must stress that the Navy's business is the sea. I must further stress that the SA Navy is fully aware of the changed environment it finds itself in and recognizes the resultant need to adapting a more service orientated approach, thereby making itself indispensable to the maritime community of the RSA, at the same time making a contribution towards a bigger and better maritime future for us all.

* SADF Flood Assistance to Malawi Described

91AF1323B Pretoria PARATUS in English
Jun 91 pp 24-25

[First paragraph PARATUS introduction]

[Text] Large gashes out of the side of Mount Michesi bear grim testimony to the devastating floods that killed an estimated 500 people and left 85,000 homeless in Southern Malawi during March this year. A PARATUS team visited the disaster area to report on the South African contribution to relief efforts, especially the role of the Defence Force in distributing food and repairing roads.

Besides destroying villages and crops, avalanches caused by the heavy rains swept boulders and tree trunks from the mountains onto the plains below, wrecking roads, the villagers' only link to the outside world.

Shortly after the Malawi government ascertained the scope of the disaster, aid was requested from international relief organisations and foreign governments. Diplomats, including South Africa's Ambassador to Malawi, Mr George Stroebel, were given a tour of the disaster area to see the extent of the damage for themselves. Upon his return Mr Stroebel requested that the South African Government provide assistance in the relief operations and Operation Hacksaw was launched in early April.

Puma

A team of 23 South African Defence Force [SADF] Engineers, a doctor and a Puma helicopter, with ground and aircrew, were dispatched to Malawi, arriving on 16 April. The Sappers' task was to provide advice to Malawian Army Engineers on how best to repair bridges that had been washed away by the flood waters. The Puma was used to ferry the Sappers to the nine bridges identified as priority points and drop 51 tons of food to the flood victims.

Only two days after the operation was started, the route that had been identified as the main priority was opened, but only to four-wheel-drive vehicles. Negotiations to acquire heavy earth moving equipment had also proved fruitful and the Malawi Army and Works Department were hard at work alongside the South African advisors.

Pleasure

Speaking at a handing over ceremony near one of the repaired bridges, Col Piet de Villiers, the task force commander, said that it had been "a great pleasure to work with the Malawi Army Engineers and Works Department."

The ceremony was attended by senior Malawi and South African Army officers, Malawi government officials and the South African Ambassador.

During his speech, Mr Stroebel thanked the Malawi Army for the warm hospitality accorded to the South African task force and said that the cordial relations between Malawi and South Africa had made the project possible. It was good to see that the South African Defence Force was not only a formidable force on the battlefield, but also had an essential role in times of peace.

Impact

During an interview with PARATUS after the ceremony, he said that many organisations, including the International Red Cross, had been involved in the relief efforts but that none of the assistance had the impact of the South African input.

Repairing the roads was of basic importance as people could now drive to markets and food and other essential aid could be effectively distributed. Also, the on-the-job training provided by the South African Engineers would be of "tremendous value" in future.

In total, the cost of repairing the bridges came to approximately a million Rand, excluding the South African donation to the appeal fund immediately after the disaster. At the ceremony, the Ambassador pledged a further R [rands] 35,000 to assist in the rehabilitation project.

Far more valuable than the monetary contribution, however, was the training, experience and goodwill that the South African Engineers left behind.

* Navy Missiles Successfully Tested

91AF1323C Pretoria PARATUS in English
Jun 91 p 48

[Text] On 29 April 1991 missiles from the Minister class Strike Craft were successfully tested against realistic targets, this time the obsolete frigate SAS President Steyn.

Type 12 frigates with a designed complement of about 250 have become too expensive for the SA Navy to operate and, having been built in the early 1960s, they have come to the end of their useful lives.

Considering the high price of gun ammunition and missiles, firing tests and practices must be judiciously planned and executed under strictly controlled circumstances. In order to assess operational effectiveness, realistic targets must be used. Firing records including photographs and video footage from on board the target vessel are meticulously collated for subsequent analysis and inspection, so as to confirm the correctness of missile firing exercises and tests.

For targets, the SA Navy has, in the past, relied on local shipping and fishing companies wishing to dispose of ships which have become uneconomic to operate. Examples are the trawlers Maria Theresa (1986), Harvest Taurus (1989) and Ocean Pearl (1990). None of these vessels can be equated with a warship which is an obvious target for the Navy. They are dissimilar in design and construction. Selection of the SAS President Steyn as a naval target was therefore a priority for the Navy.

Angola

Des Santos Opens Council of Ministers Session

*MB3008204091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91*

[Text] In Luanda today, Angolan head of state Jose Eduardo dos Santos described as satisfactory the activities carried out in the country since the signing of the cease-fire accords three months ago. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said: We can say that the assesment of activities carried out is not negative, although there is a need to study solutions and proposals that would enable us to recover the time lost and actively deal with issues agreed upon in the accords which are of vital importance to the nation.

Speaking at the opening of the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers, the Angolan head of state said the peace process is very complex inasmuch as there is always a need to reconcile different interests and viewpoints. He pointed out that the process has not reached the desired pace and the programmed tasks have been experiencing delays. The president of the Republic said this would undoubtedly reflect negatively in the electoral process.

[Begin dos Santos recording] We cannot hold free and fair multiparty elections without recognized political parties. In other words, we cannot have multiparty elections without the registration of parties by the People's Supreme Court.

According to information received from the People's Supreme Court, only the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola has so far fulfilled all the law's requirements and it has therefore been registered.

If we hold elections in September next year, we shall have ahead of us 12 months. If the elections are held in November, we shall have 14 months. It is therefore important that the constituent commissions of political parties should speed up recruitment so that in the coming two months they will be able to obtain the 3,000 signatures required by law.

During the next two months, the government expects to conclude the drafting of a law on electoral census and the creation of conditions for [words indistinct]. The study on the definition and sphere of operation of electoral bodies and the Draft Electoral Law are expected to be ready for discussion by December this year.

Taking into account what has been defined in the peace accords, the government will study and determine ways of hearing the views of political parties approved by the People's Supreme Court.

In order to resolve administrative problems presented by the constituent commissions of political parties, the government will have to appoint a spokesman as soon as possible. This could be done through the creation of a body within the Ministry of Justice. [end recording]

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos also said that it was vitally important to adhere to the cease-fire verification and control process as well as allow a free movement of people and goods throughout the country in order to consolidate peace and confidence.

[Begin Dos Santos recording] These two conditions are vital to enable us to seriously and unambiguously continue with the democratization process, inasmuch as there can be no real democracy in the country without peace and liberty.

The government has allowed free activity by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] throughout the country. It has allowed a free movement of its civilian cadres and sympathizers. The government has established the right of free movement of people and goods and the exercise of political activity throughout the country.

Accordingly, with the exception of areas which possess minefields laid during the war, it does not make sense that Angolan citizens should still be unable to move freely in areas considered to be under UNITA control in order to deal with their affairs. The delay to extend the government administration to these areas is equally incomprehensible.

Within the framework of the Bicesse Accords, the government was charged with the task of continuing to maintain public order and gradually extending the government administration to all corners of the country. The Interior Ministry and the government delegation on the Joint Political and Military Commission should therefore take political and other measures to prevent the deployment of UNITA armed detachments in cities and towns, creating fear and anxiety. They should take measures to enforce the application of the peace accord with regard to the status of [words indistinct]. These two requirements cannot be underestimated.

What is more, all efforts must be undertaken to eliminate the potential causes of renewed violence in the country. We must defend and consolidate peace. We must inspire confidence and, through our actions, demonstrate our good faith and firm desire to implement the peace accords and our country's capacity to guarantee liberty, the exercise of political, economic, and social rights of our citizens; as well as the holding of free and fair multiparty elections. [end recording]

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said conditions would be created so that the UNITA president can be based in Luanda, thus avoiding the impression that our country is divided. The Angolan head of state said the residence for UNITA president has already been identified.

It will be recalled that the proceedings of the Council of Ministers session will resume on 2 September.

UNITA Official Welcomes Dos Santos' Comments

MB3108125091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1210 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Interview with Salupeto Pena, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola team within the Joint Political and Military Commission, by an unidentified reporter in Luanda on 31 August—italicized passages recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Engineer Salupeto Pena, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, team within the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, visited Radio Angola this morning. He said his organization never doubted Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' great interest in the establishment of peace.

[Pena] *The impression we have gathered from the Angolan head of state's speech is that he is following the peace process very closely. He is well aware of what is happening. I would say that it is still much too early to go through what he said point by point. Naturally, there were some encouraging points in his speech.*

UNITA in general, and the UNITA leadership in particular, views the Angolan head of state as one of the persons who are seriously committed to the peace process. We have never had any doubts on that score. Naturally, there are other points that we will only fully grasp once we have made an in-depth analysis of them with our Angolan Government colleagues within the CCPM.

[Announcer] Engineer Salupeto Pena also publicly promised to inform Radio Nacional de Angola as soon as he knew the date of the UNITA president's planned arrival in Luanda.

[Pena] *As soon as we know the date of his arrival, we will let you have it first hand. We can even say that we will come here to tell you directly [words indistinct].*

[Announcer] Finally, the UNITA representative within the CCPM said he was unaware about plans for an Angolan Government team within the CCPM to go and stay in Jamba.

[Pena] *It is rather curious that I have only learned about those plans through the media. I have read it in the paper and I have heard Radio Angola talk about it, but I have not [words indistinct] and I find it strange. What is happening is the following: There is still a group of [word indistinct] that is based in Jamba and that is precisely because of logistical reasons. For instance, the government should have, both sides should have a control group in Mavinga and that group has not been installed yet. There is one in Licua. There is one at Mecusse border post. Obviously, once arrangements have been made—and they will normally be made—a group (?will go to) Jamba, but I assure you I know nothing about a group going there on 3 September.*

[Unidentified reporter] *So that issue has never even been discussed within the CCPM?*

[Pena] *That issue has not been discussed [words indistinct] we are all learning it from the media.*

Government Spokesman on 13th CCPM Session

MB3108081991 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Statement by Andre Passi, government representative and spokesman for the 13th Joint Political and Military Commission session, in Luanda on 30 August]

[Text] The Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] held its 13th session yesterday to assess the practical implementation of the Angolan peace accords. Session Spokesman Andre Passi commented on the outcome of the meeting as follows:

[Begin Passi recording] We have just ended the 13th CCPM session. In addition to discussing and approving the minutes of the 10th session, this meeting also focused on six issues: the meeting of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] and Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] chiefs of general staff; troop confinement problems; the outcome of a Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF] investigation of an incident in Malange in accordance with a previous CCPM decision; the CCPM expenses budget, but this problem was not discussed because the relevant working group has not yet concluded its research; the acquisition of material for the installation of the future Angolan Armed Forces; and the CCPM's instructions to the CMVF concerning the unloading of military equipment belonging to the Angolan Government. This last issue had been raised by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

The 13th CCPM session discussed the issue of the meeting of the FAPLA and FALA chiefs of general staff because it has been practical to hold such meetings to clarify certain principles and to establish a framework for such meetings. It was decided that this mechanism must not be institutionalized as a parallel structure of the CCPM. The sides were, however, not prevented from agreeing on FAPLA-FALA chiefs of general staff meetings. Within this context, it is important to note that the FAPLA and FALA chiefs of general staff will meet in Jamba on 2 September. That meeting had already been planned to allow the two chiefs of staff to discuss pending issues.

Regarding the troop confinement process, the 13th CCPM session found that there has been some progress in that sphere. Troops have been moving to and settling in confinement areas but it was now necessary to organize bodies that will verify and control the movement and confinement of the troops.

Turning now to the issue of the Malange investigation, I would like to read out some CMVF findings. The CMVF has decided that all FAPLA and FALA control posts must be withdrawn from every communication route in Malange. It also noted that the two command structures should work

more closely. Within the context of resolving incidents, this must always be done with UN collaboration.

The CMVF also noted the following: The incident on 8 August, in which the provincial governor was prevented from visiting areas under his jurisdiction, arose to a certain extent from a lack of communication. The two sides reached an agreement on the issue and the UN team sent a report to its headquarters.

It was found that the control groups must have new accommodations instead of staying on at the hotel where they are at present. It was also found that reports on incidents to be sent to the CMVF in Luanda must include comments on the local verification and control groups' solutions for those incidents. Attention must also be given to the manner in which orders are given to subordinates.

It was also found that logistical problems are hindering the installation of the Marimba control group. Finally, it was decided that the members of the control groups must be unarmed.

These were the findings and conclusions of the CMVF investigation.

Concerning uniforms, installation material, and hygiene equipment necessary for the first stage of the placement of the Angolan Armed Forces, the Armed Forces Joint Commission has discussed this and is waiting for the arrival of imported goods. A brief report was presented on the investigation currently underway on the arrival of Angolan Government military equipment at Luanda harbor.

I am also going to talk now about an issue that I find to be of the highest importance for the troop confinement process: It has been decided that this issue must be discussed in every CCPM session until the troop confinement process is over throughout Angolan territory. This was all I had to say about the issues discussed at the 13th CCPM session. [end recording]

National Front Leader Discusses Peace Process

MB3108202891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Interview with Holden Roberto, president of the Angola National Liberation Front, by unidentified local and foreign reporters at Luanda Airport on 31 August—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] What is your priority program in Angola?

[Roberto] I believe that our first program is peace. We would all like to see the establishment of peace in Angola and nothing else.

[Reporter] What do you intend to do exactly?

[Roberto] Well I shall render my contribution...

[Reporter, interrupting] [Words indistinct] after 16 years out of Angola?

[Roberto] Well conditions were not yet ripe. I think that...

[Reporter, interrupting] [Words indistinct]
[Roberto] I came to stay.

[Reporter] You were out of Angola for 16 years, leaving your people to face difficult conditions. How do you think you can still have the support of a people that you abandoned?

[Roberto] It is up to the people to decide whether they support me or not. All the same, I believe that I did everything to bring peace to Angola. I did everything.

[Reporter] Why did you have a 24-hour stopover in Zaire?

[Roberto] It was because of a family problem. My brother has died. My brother died a month ago; he is a family member.

[Reporter] Did you hold contacts with the Angolan community living in Zaire?

[Roberto] Absolutely. I presided over a very important rally.

[Reporter] Do you hope that this community will be part of your electorate?

[Roberto] I do not know. In a democracy, people are free to choose. I cannot force them to support the Angola National Liberation Front [FNLA].

[Reporter] Do you confirm that the FNLA has armed men?

[Roberto] No. I have already said that where there is a war, a civil war, people have a right to defend themselves.

[Reporter] How do you view the peace program?

[Roberto] I don't know. I shall try to obtain the views of the people who are here. My impression, however, is that it is not progressing smoothly. We shall have to correct certain things.

[Reporter] What are your immediate plans in Luanda, Mr. Holden Roberto?

[Roberto] I beg your pardon?

[Reporter] Your immediate plans in Luanda?

[Roberto] Our plan is to see peace restored in the country and nothing else. We have no special plan.

[Reporter] What is your working program. What are you going to do from now on?

[Roberto] I shall meet with the FNLA Committee. We shall see what plans the committee has. I personally cannot say anything now.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I don't know whether you have answered my question. I asked you whether you were coming to stay or you shall go back?

[Roberto] Absolutely, I came to stay. I came to stay.

[Reporter] Where are you going to be accommodated?

[Roberto] I don't know. It will depend...

[Reporter, interrupting] Will you stand for presidential elections in Angola?

[Roberto] Absolutely.

[Reporter] Do you hope to win?

[Roberto] I cannot say. When you go to battle, you cannot say whether you are going to win or lose. We shall try.

[Reporter] (?Are you able) to lead the Angolan nation?
[Roberto] It is for the people to decide this. I cannot say.

[Reporter] Do you have the capacity?

[Roberto] The people will decide. They will decide whether I am capable or not.

[Reporter] Where is the largest FNLA electorate?

[Roberto] I cannot tell. Our electorate is found throughout the country.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] political party?

[Roberto] We shall see when the time comes.

[Reporter] After all these years out of the country, what is your feeling today?

[Roberto] I think that like anybody else, I am overjoyed.

[Reporter] What is your message for the Angolan people and the FNLA supporters?

[Roberto] I am back in order to fight with my people. When I say fight, I mean the search for peace and democracy.

[Reporter] In 1975, all the Angolan leaders were in Angola, except you. Why?

[Roberto] I did not come because there were no conditions for me to come at that time.

[Reporter] What specific conditions are you talking about?

[Roberto] There was a useless war, a civil war which brought about difficult conditions.

[Reporter] Do you hope to be received by President Eduardo dos Santos?

[Roberto] If that is necessary in order to establish or consolidate peace, I am ready.

[Reporter] Mr. President, you said that this was a useless war. Why do you say so?

[Roberto] Every civil war is useless. Who won in this war? No one won and no one lost. Other countries had to intervene to bring about peace. It was a useless war. We lament the death of 500,000 people and we have about a million maimed people. This is a big burden for the Angolan nation. Accordingly, I think it was a useless war. It could have been avoided.

[Reporter] We can therefore conclude that this was the greatest contribution that the FNLA made during the past 17 years?

[Roberto] Yes, I believe so. We have always preached peace and we were able to convince people about this. I was the one who drafted the peace plan that was accepted by the superpowers. Accordingly, it was our contribution.

[Reporter] Mr. President, do you mean that you were the first to draft the peace plan that is now in effect?

[Roberto] You can see that about 50 to 60 percent of my plan was accepted.

UNITA Says Soviet Troops Still in Angola

MBJ008094991 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] About 100 Soviet military personnel are still in Angola, three months after the Angolan peace accords were signed in Lisbon, Portugal. Sources in Luanda said yesterday that the troops have been deployed in Luanda, Uige, and Cabinda provinces. Their continued presence in Angola is causing concern among political circles in Jamba. According to the sources, the Joint Verification and Control Commission is expected to study the issue.

UNITA Prevents Government Inspecting Goods

MB0109085891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0705 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Quoting an officer in the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, ANGOP reports that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] soldiers have prevented government officials in a verification and control group from inspecting some goods coming from Jamba.

ANGOP says that the goods arrived in Lobito aboard a DC-3 aircraft. In addition to assorted equipment, that aircraft was carrying Mr. Ben-Ben, chief of general staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA]. In a stay of less than two hours, Mr. Ben-Ben introduced Mr. Jorge Valentim as the UNITA delegate in Benguela.

FAPLA Captain Felix, a member of the Lobito Airport verification and control group, said that the goods brought into Lobito City included seven military bags, five unidentified boxes, and other goods. Capt. Felix noted that, at the government's insistence, it was found that five radio units were aboard the aircraft, in addition to one previously reported by UNITA. Large quantities of daggers were also found hidden under clothing.

Cap. Felix's statement was supported by UNITA Second Lieutenant Sacadura Cabral, who is also a member of the Lobito Airport verification and control group. Sacadura Cabral said that the intervention of UNITA Major Bassa caused confusion and difficulties to the verification and control group. That UNITA officer had ordered that the equipment be taken from the airport to the city without being inspected.

Moreover, the situation has not been defined regarding UNITA's claim that it has had more than 50 light weapons at a depot in Tombo communal village, in Benguela Province's Baia Farta District since 1976. UNITA has prevented the UN Angola Verification Mission, UNAVEM-2, observers from seeing those weapons. Maj. Bassa says that that military equipment cannot be handed over to anyone. This has been a source of concern to the Angolan Government representatives in the Lobito regional verification and control subgroup.

Reports from various parts of the country say that UNITA has been infiltrating war materiel, including light rifles and cold steel weapons, into urban and suburban areas.

* MUDAR Founder Views Political Objectives

91AF1316B Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese
7 Aug 91 p 8

[Interview with Manuel dos Santos Lima, founder of the Angolan Democratic Unity Movement for Reconstruction [MUDAR], by Jorge Heitor; place, date not given]

[Text] Manuel dos Santos Lima, a 56-year old professor and writer from Bie, told PUBLICO yesterday that he was a candidate for president of Angola in the upcoming elections. The sixth name to go on the ballot in what is expected to be a hotly contested race.

"I will run in the presidential elections—unless, in the interest of the Angolan people, another candidate should emerge whom my party considers to be capable of serving the country," were the words spoken by Manuel dos Santos Lima, a professor of higher education in Montreal, Rennes, Nantes, and Santarem.

[Heitor] What kind of president would you be?

[Dos Santos Lima] A moderating president. I want a semi-presidential regime in Angola.

[Heitor] A special gunner in the Portuguese Army, trained in Lamego, a deserter, founder of the People's Army for the Liberation of Angola, an MPLA [Angolan People's Liberation Movement] dissident since 1963: what is your position?

[Dos Santos Lima] After holding the position of commander in chief, I broke away because the MPLA was failing in its mission. It was defined as Marxist and I am not Marxist. I resigned and studied for a doctorate in Lausanne. I taught French literature in Canada and literature from Portuguese-speaking Africa in France. When I went to Angola in 1977, they took my passport and did not want to let me leave.

[Heitor] In 1987 the was created.

[Dos Santos Lima] A delegation of Angolans from the interior of the country contacted me, in view of my political philosophy and the impact of my novel, "Os anões e os mendigos" ["The Dwarfs and the Beggars"].

[Heitor] But since you have spent so many years out of the country, aren't you a little out of touch with the situation in Angola?

[Dos Santos Lima] There is an important part of Angola here in Portugal. Sam Nujoma also spent 35 years out of the country. I am going next week for a month. And after that I will settle there as soon as possible. MUDAR members have asked me to go there. I am a symbol. I was the first black in the Via Teixeira de Sousa School, Luau

today. I was the first black in the Portuguese Army. I was the first dissident on the MPLA's Directing Committee.

[Heitor] What does your movement stand for?

[Dos Santos Lima] Fighting the constant deterioration of the situation in Angola. Defending individual freedoms, a multiparty system, and social justice. We are trying to establish ourselves as a party. But all the same, we have not been openly active in Angola, because there is fear and a repressive apparatus.

[Heitor] Do MUDAR and other new parties share some common ground?

[Dos Santos Lima] We were not involved in the war. The upcoming elections are going to run against the warring parties. We hold a world record in Angola for maimed people.

[Heitor] Will you achieve your objectives in a year?

[Dos Santos Lima] One year is not enough, but more than that would favor the current regime, that is trying to change its image.

[Heitor] In what camp is MUDAR located?

[Dos Santos Lima] In the Social-Christian camp, with a good part of its inspiration coming from the Church's social doctrine. However, I do not believe that Africans have to follow European labels. The end of this century marks the end of ideologies. But in terms of Europe, we lean towards the Christian democracies.

[Heitor] Are you satisfied with the peace agreements?

[Dos Santos Lima] The Bicesse agreements were against Portugal and against Angolan democrats. Portugal was in a bad position vis-a-vis major interests. Bipolarization in Angola would mean a deadlock. The MPLA and UNITA have all the means at their disposal. One because it is the government, and the other because it waged war.

Policy of Alliances

[Heitor] Are the new parties at a disadvantage then?

[Dos Santos Lima] In Sao Tome and Principe and in Cape Verde, the governing parties were also favored and they lost. I do not think that the war favors anyone.

[Heitor] Would you agree to alliances with other groups?

[Dos Santos Lima] MUDAR's objective is to form alliances. But all the future parties have not yet been established. The field is not full yet. There is not a clear profile of each party. There are no guarantees that they can use the mass media as they would like to. An alliance among Angolan democrats will make the campaign less unequal.

[Heitor] What office would you prefer in a coalition government?

[Dos Santos Lima] Education, that is a priority field. Over 90 percent of the people are illiterate.

[Heitor] What do you think of Jose Eduardo dos Santos as a candidate for president?

[Dos Santos Lima] In his place I would not run, in view of the failure of the administrations he has headed.

[Heitor] What do you think of Jonas Savimbi?

[Dos Santos Lima] He has a certain ideal, a certain concept of Angola, that I do not share. I am in favor of a coalition government, even if we have a majority. The first democratic government in Angola should encompass all political forces.

[Heitor] What is the roll of the FNLA and its president, Holden Roberto?

[Dos Santos Lima] I do not know what its electoral weight is. It is, however, a historic party, with all the burden of its past.

[Heitor] There is also the possibility that Daniel Chipenda will run for office?

[Dos Santos Lima] I have no opinion on this.... (and he concluded his answer with laughter, as if he did not take this politician very seriously).

Pinto de Andrade

[Heitor] What is your opinion of Joaquim Pinto de Andrade?

[Dos Santos Lima] I have great respect for his moral and intellectual fiber. The next few months will be decisive in clarifying the political situation in Angola.

[Heitor] Would you step aside in favor of Pinto de Andrade?

[Dos Santos Lima] I could step aside in favor of any other candidate that my party believes capable of serving Angola. I am a man of democracy and peace.

[Heitor] When you go to your country now, will you be in contact with the authorities?

[Dos Santos Lima] I am planning to meet with Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

*** Opposition Group Seeks Internal Recognition**

91AF1316C Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 2 Aug 91 p 51

[Article by Nelson Herbert]

[Text] "The entire executive committee of the ANIA [National Association of Indigenous Angolans] has been in hiding in the interior of Angola for some time. There are just a few leaders still here in the United States for the necessary contacts with the outside world." With these words, Lombi Zuendoki, the leader of the National Association of Indigenous Angolans (ANIA), the former Vofangola, explained why the leaders of that opposition group were in the United

States, at a time when newly created political parties within Angola were making their positions public.

Established about two years ago by a group of Angolan emigrants and intellectuals who had settled in the United States, the ANIA has multiplied its contacts outside the country. And, on this basis, the leaders of this party were recently granted an interview by some members of the U.S. Department of State, to whom "we presented our positions and views on the current political situation in Angola," the ANIA leader told DIARIO DE NOTICIAS.

Criticizing both the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], this political group proclaimed that it was capable of governing a regime of institutional transition, similar to the model advocated for Angola by the writer Nelson Pestana (Bonavena) and the English attorneys Pinto and Filomeno Vieira Lopes.

It is worth noting that this institutional transition model includes the convening of a "council of national reconciliation" with representatives from all political groups operating in Angola.

"The restrictive terms adopted during the Alvor negotiations with regard to the participants should never be used as a basis for solving Angola's internal problems....", Lombi Zuendoki, the ANIA leader, said, in referring to the assumed "intention" of UNITA and MPLA to apply these rules to the democratic transition process.

You will recall that during the Congress of Angolan Cadres in Lisbon this political group already rose up against the assumed "instrumentalization and opportunism shown by certain political groups and individuals that claimed to have the answer to Angola's problems at the Congress."

When asked to give his opinion as to the prospects for establishing his political group in the context of a democratic Angola, Lombi Zuendoki appeared optimistic.

Introducing Democracy

Meanwhile, for certain political circles this group is still not publicly recognized within the country. The ANIA leader disagrees and gives his reasons: "In Angola, the regime is still a single party, so that up to now we have been working to introduce democracy and a multiparty system." This means (reading between the lines) that up to now, all of the group's activities have had to be carried out clandestinely. Is this an indication of political maturity, strategy, or uncertainties regarding intentions and the viability of the plans for Angola? We have our doubts. What is certain is that, in the internal political chess game, the "pieces" have been in position on the board for a long time.

In the view of the ANIA leader, "both the MPLA and UNITA will join the process with a heavy handicap: the dissension and fratricidal war that led Angolans to violate the most noble human rights and the "clear

corruption in the current circles of power in Luanda," that do nothing to enhance the credibility of the two warring political groups.

If the forecast of this opposition leader becomes true, Angola will in the coming years be open to "unrest" on the part of the recently created political groups.

Complete Independence

Since, according to its leaders, it considers itself to be the only Angolan political group that is completely independent of the MPLA in its actions and thoughts, the ANIA is not pleased to see various political groups emerge within the country, and it regards them as "mere MPLA and UNITA satellite parties."

However, the positions taken by this political group with regard to the problems facing Angola are sometimes contradictory. It condemns the "internationalization" of the Angolan conflict, the peaceful solution to which appears now more than ever to be in the hands of Angolans, and especially the warring parties, and yet the ANIA advocates "sponsorship" of the democratic transition process going on in the country. To this end, the USSR and the United States should participate in the transition process, so that, in the opinion of the ANIA leaders, "peace will be lasting and democracy solid."

Referring to Portugal's role as mediator in resolving the Angolan conflict, this political group praised Portuguese diplomacy, but it regretted the fact that the Portuguese officials in charge of the decolonization process did not at that time view Angola's political problem in light of the evidence of the diverse ideological currents and thoughts prevailing in the society.

*** Military Men Comment on Peace Process**

91AF1316D Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese
9 Aug 91 p 22

[Article by Afonso Praca]

[Text] At the first announcement of peace, Angolan roads began to open up and truckers regained their confidence in the roads and trails. A relative confidence, to be sure: the war left thousands of holes in many roads, it destroyed bridges, and it seeded mines in quantities that nobody knows for sure.

When the mine removal teams, made up of soldiers from FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] (government) and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] (UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]), completed their first month of work, it was learned that they had deactivated or destroyed over 7,000 mines (either antitank or antipersonnel ones). This made it possible for traffic to circulate on the main roads without great risks, and Angola breathed a sigh of relief. For the truckers, adventurers as always, they had already been travelling to Benguela, Huambo, Lobito, Benguela, Ambriz, and Malange.

Perhaps so as not to alarm anyone, specific information on the mines deactivated or destroyed was not published, at least not initially. In the end, Angola was a country sprinkled with mines, and the work of the teams was regarded as highly positive. But the truth is that nobody knows when the mission can be considered as fully completed.

With limited explanations and without concrete data, a high official in FAPLA told O JORNAL in Lubango that: "In the southern part of the country alone, there must be thousands of mines," adding that "the country cannot be completely cleared of mines without more advanced technology, which will take a long time."

The same official said that in many cases, "the maps showing placement of the mines have disappeared or the officials in charge of that job have died," and he added that "especially in the east and the north, there are still mines from the time of the colonial war." In his opinion, "nobody would be surprised if people should die as a result of a mine 20 years from now."

Later, O JORNAL learned in Luanda that in the Mavinga region, there are about 100,000 plastic mines. Their deactivation requires technology that is currently nonexistent in Angola. Assistance has been requested from the United States, and it has agreed to provide it.

According to the commander of government troops in Kuando-Kubango Province, Lieutenant-Colonel Adelio de Carvalho, in the municipality of Kuito Canavale alone, 330,000 mines have been located, and teams of FAPLA and FALA soldiers are working to deactivate them. In addition to these, it is estimated that there are about 250,000 that have not yet been discovered as of the end of July, and that were laid by government, Cuban, UNITA, and South African forces during the fighting in that region.

Soldiers "Talk" More Easily

According to forces linked to the CCPM (Joint Political-Military Commission), "the work of removing mines has been going along at a good pace," hampered in some cases "by delays in other areas of implementation of the peace agreements, and especially in regrouping troops of the two sides and exchanging prisoners." This has occurred at various important places, such as the Kuivo Cuanavale-Mavinga road.

In any event, it is generally acknowledged that from the beginning, the dialogue between soldiers (of FAPLA and FALA) has been easier than between politicians (of MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA). "But this is natural, we all speak the same language, and I say this in all due respect for politicians," Colonel Higino Carneiro, operations chief of FAPLA headquarters, told O JORNAL.

Now 35 years old, Higino Carneiro was born in Calulo (Kuanza Sul), and his grandfather was from Vinhas, Portugal (Macedo de Cavaleiros). He studied agronomy for

three years before entering the Armed Forces, and was part of the group of young officers who fought the hardest for peace. He wholeheartedly advocates the subordination of the military to civilian power, shows concern over the delays that have been occurring, and praises the role of Portuguese soldiers: "I think that theirs is a very positive role. In addition to being very knowledgeable about Angola, their relationship with Angolans allows them to be closer to them and understand them better, and facilitates the work that we are all involved in."

As for the future, he does not know. He confined his comments to the following: "I may continue in the Armed Forces." The widely held opinion, however, is that in view of Colonel Higino's capabilities (military, personal, and intellectual), he may play an important role in the future national army. When I told him that, he finally admitted: "That is possible, but I would like to continue my studies and then devote myself to agriculture."

For Colonel Joao de Matos, presently commander of the Southern Front (Lubango, the former Sa da Bandeira), after having commanded the Eastern Front during the war, the future is also undefined. Born in Sanza Pombo (Uige), he went to secondary school at Luanda High School, and it is likely that he will remain in the Armed Forces: "I am a career soldier, and naturally I will do what the government decides. Personally, I would like to have a more peaceful life."

According to Joao de Matos, the subordination of the military to a civilian government "is a matter of peace among soldiers." He says: "Soldiers have been the ones who have most openly supported the peace process, they have been the ones to suffer most directly the consequences of war, and it is logical that they would be very much in favor of subordination to a civilian government. We still have to educate many people, and of course partisan tendencies will have to be eliminated for many members of the military, but as far as FAPLA is concerned, this is going to be easy. I really hope that the same will be true of UNITA."

Lieutenant-Colonel Fernando da Fonseca Kahossy, commander of the Cunene Military Zone, has already made up his mind. Formerly a quartermaster in the Portuguese Army, he came up with an immediate answer when we asked him what his future would be like: "I am going to be a farmer." He studied at Diogo Cao High School in Sa da Bandeira, where the staff wore cloaks and robes, and there was an academic atmosphere like in Coimbra. He was a professor, and he was involved in the war for several years. He believes in the peace process, and he intends to farm the land where he was born, in Chibia, near Lubango. He admits sarcastically: "I am fed up with going around in boots and a uniform."

UNITA soldiers are also tired, according to Brigadier General Correia Vitor, from Golungo Alto, and a cousin of Lopo do Nascimento: "It is true, soldiers are tired of the war, and many want to desert and turn to civilian activities, to continue their interrupted education."

For him, the peace agreements made him very happy: they made it possible for him to embrace his mother for the first time in 16 years, when he arrived in Luanda as a member of the UNITA delegation, and to see once again his brother, with whom he had completely lost touch. An irony of fate: his brother is a correspondent for JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Lobito.

However, they all are aware of the fact that the peace process is complex, especially as regards the formation of a national army. But they all know as well that peace is worth any sacrifice. In the end, they were the ones who suffered the most from the war.

* Civilian Population Getting Used to Democracy

91AF1316E Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 2 Aug 91 p 50

[Article by Joffre Justino]

[Text] As I said in an earlier article, as the effects of the cease-fire in Angola are felt and the agreements between the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Workers Party] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] are hammered out, civilian society in Angola will begin to take shape as a truly democratic society. Thus, and virtually at the same time as the political prisoners were released (when they started to release them, according to some), the democratic process was stepped up and small parties tried to regroup in an attempt to gain a voice that they still do not have today. In fact, the release of political prisoners, now begun, makes civilian society feel less pressure from the previously dominant totalitarian regime, and makes it feel as though it is now entitled to organize so that it can participate in this new stage in the life of Angola.

For these new groups or the earlier attempts to form them are not final, or even certain, or probably the most appropriate ones. In truth, it is not very likely that the heir of Nitism, the Angolan PRD [Democratic Renewal Party], would be the natural or even temporary ally of Pinto de Andrade. Nor has the PRD been critical of the errors in his past, contrary to what has been seen, for instance, in the statements back and forth between Holden Roberto and Pinto de Andrade regarding this past, nor is it likely that a consensus of this sort will be provided by Pinto de Andrade's potential catholic supporters.

Since the reorganization of parties in Angola is in its very early stages, it is important to watch and see how it develops, and not to turn statements of interest or intention into realities.

Moreover, to repeat, UNITA has only just begun to move closer to the society "of the other side." So it will have to test the ground, to learn more about this new situation before any major tactical or politically strategic moves can be expected of it.

A political group with more than enough reasons to be cautious, and the only nationally organized political

force, aside from the MPLA-PT, born of the resistance, UNITA has time to grow in a political, electoral sense. Moreover, it needs to be restructured internally and to adapt to a new situation, especially in a climate that is potentially more hostile—an urban climate, and more specifically Luanda.

Different Tones

Curiously, some analysts have been pointing to a fact that was quite obvious—UNITA presents itself in different tones and voices. This was to be expected, since UNITA is a front, which is one of the reasons why it formed a powerful resistance to the MPLA-PT, and this was the only way it could be open to the various opposition groups that emerged over the years against the Luanda regime.

Resistance to totalitarianism built a UNITA different from the one that was born of the struggle for independence, and led this nationalist force to different political arenas than it occupied initially, although it had the solid foundation of a front, that will be clarified with the development of the Angolan democratic process.

In any event, nobody expects this to happen during this transition phase, when the parties competing in the first free elections will have a hard time coming out with ideologically defined platforms. One has only to recall the Portuguese experience to understand how natural this situation is and to see that at the current time, with the Soviet bloc torn apart and the strategic errors of the Socialist Internationale in Africa, it is highly improbable that there will be anything more than a party definition along very general lines, such as the following:

- those defending the MPLA-PT regime, while criticizing its excesses;
- those criticizing the war and the people who waged it;
- those supporting UNITA's struggle as the way of forcing the regime to change.

During an initial phase that will most likely run beyond the first free elections in Angola, we will find located indiscriminately within these three major groupings those people that want a completely liberal economic program, those that believe that the market economy needs to be regulated, those that still support the idea that citizens play an essential role in political life, those advocating some participation by citizens, and those that are forced to agree to the participation of citizens in view of current developments in the world.

In UNITA as in the MPLA-PT, and in the other groups, differing views are reflected. Thus the traditional standards for evaluating political parties are not applicable, since the only factor separating the groups is whether or not they supported or opposed a totalitarian regime, or participated in the resistance. UNITA opposed the regime, it fought against it. So did the ACA [Angolan Civic Association] and MUSA [Socialist Unity Movement of Angola], and some members of the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] as well. As for the rest, only time will tell their real attachment to democracy.

In my opinion, therefore, it is not worthwhile to try, as I said, to find other factors defining the groups, since in UNITA as in all the other political groups, differing views will be heard until the various internationally dominant political families are stabilized.

Stabilization and Democratic Thinking

During the initial phase, civilian society will stabilize in Angola as well, in a democratic manner, most likely through the intervention of agents from political parties and churches, and then later through associated movements that will arise or be revived, through labor unions, or social movements, or the like.

In view of Angola's urban tradition of having a dynamic cultural life, and in view of the fact that this was the first sign of the internal failure of the totalitarian regime (as it was once the center of urban resistance to colonialism), I believe that cultural movements will be very important in Angola. In my opinion, it is through them that civilian society will maintain its critical spirit vis-a-vis the emerging political class and will force it to admit its mistakes whenever it attempts to go beyond its limits and powers. In literature, poetry, song, dance, music, painting, movies, and video or audio programs, Angola will have a great deal to offer the Portuguese-speaking world, Africa, and the world in general.

There is a tendency for cultural movements to be the preferred means of expression of Angolan civilian society. Let's hope that the democratic government will listen to them and encourage them, thereby increasingly releasing the energies of a society that has always found its focus for life, if not survival, in culture.

Even today, despite the limited means of communication, cultural movements show a vivacity that I must say is on a par with that of the Portuguese, despite the fact that we have had democracy for 17 years already. Democracy will give them new opportunities for communication and healthy competition....

Benin

Former President Ahomadegbe Forms New Party

AB2508174091 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio Network in French
1930 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Excerpts] A new political party was created tonight out of the former National Rally for Democracy [RND]. It has not yet been given a name, but its founder is [former] President Justin Ahomadegbe. [passage omitted]

Justin Ahomadegbe announced the decision at a news conference this afternoon at Cotonou Podium Hall. Mr. Ahomadegbe replied frankly to the questions: Is the new party the resurrection of the former UDD [expansion unknown] party? What makes it fundamentally different from the RND? He said that following the obstinate refusal by the RND secretary general to convene a congress, the founding fathers of the party decided to set up a national council, which decided today to create the new party. He said that although he was proud of having been a UDD member, he would not like to relive the past, adding that the new party is not a resuscitation of the former UDD party. He acknowledged that his alliance with Mr. Adrien Keke's [words indistinct] had been a failure. He swore that he would never form an alliance with another party again. Mr. Ahomadegbe, however, explained that any time President Soglo makes a decision for the country's economic, financial, and moral revival, the new party will endorse it. [passage omitted]

Liberia

Taylor Orders Troops Along Sierra Leone Border

AB0209220091 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
1900 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] The chairman of the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] government, Mr. Charles Gankay Taylor, has made it clear that there has been no attempt to unseat the NPRA government. Addressing a meeting today, President Taylor, however, spoke of a sad situation where a commander, Lieutenant Colonel Ken Tuwah, was involved in the execution of five soldiers including the a Special Forces commando. President Taylor said after this information was confirmed, Commander Tuwah, under the uniform code of military justice, was tried by a special court-martial board, found guilty, and subsequently executed.

Commander in chief Taylor said the movement around was to prevent the close followers of Commander Tuwah, who connived with him in carrying out the executions, from getting out of hand. President Taylor repeated that his government is trying to provide security within its borders and to ensure that officers, who were recently commissioned, act accordingly and behave in a respectable manner as the country gradually opens up.

President Charles Gankay Taylor today made a startling revelation of attempts by Liberian detractors in Sierra Leone to threaten the national security interests of the Liberian nation. In a nationwide radio address, President Taylor said NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] intelligence reports have verified that between 3,000 to 5,000 Liberians, fighting under the banner of the [words indistinct], are based in Sierra Leone, with the sole intent to wage war on the Liberian people. The group is headed by Amos Sawyer, Boima Fahnbulleh, and Alhaji Kroma, along with members of the Armed Forces of Liberia.

President Taylor said to confirm this information, his government dispatched Defense Minister Tom Woewiyu to the United States to hold talks with Pentagon officials in Washington D.C. He said the U.S. defense officials confirmed the [words indistinct] that they were aware of a large number of forces (?grouping) in Sierra Leone [words indistinct].

President Taylor repeated his government's commitment to protect lives and property within the territorial limits of Liberia. President Taylor has repeated that nothing should be done to derail the current Yamoussoukro peace process. He, however, said that Amos Sawyer [words indistinct] in Monrovia is involved in the (?preparation) of a war in Sierra Leone that threatens the security of the nation. President Taylor said Amos Sawyer had gone to the extent of insolent insult against Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, chairman of the five-nation peace committee. The Liberian leader said this attitude on the part of Dr. Sawyer is an indication that he is not negotiating in good faith. Mr. Taylor said this is a deliberate attempt to derail the Yamoussoukro discussions, slow down the peace process in Liberia, while they pursue a war that will take the lives of the Liberian people. President Taylor described these actions as unpatriotic, and has accordingly ordered the Armed Forces of the NPFL into positions along the border with Sierra Leone. The NPFL forces have been ordered to use any means necessary to prevent any outside military entry into Liberia.

The president said these (?threats) of action are unnecessary if Liberians are willing to pursue the process of peace. President Taylor emphasized that there is a serious threat with those politicians in Monrovia not wanting to see the peace process progress. He said they would like to see a different form of surrogate warfare threatening the stability of Liberia.

The NPRA chairman added, and we quote him: One cannot accept for our young men and women to go to the border to die at the hands of those we are negotiating with, while they sit at rest peacefully in Monrovia. President Taylor then repeated his government's commitment to the peace process and called on all those who are attempting to derail the peace process to desist.

President Charles Gankay Taylor says the (?encampment) process of NPFL soldiers will be carried out,

despite threats from Monrovia politicians to wage war against the Liberian people. He said the NPRA government has dispatched its foreign minister with special messages to President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and the Senegalese president, Abdou Diouf, on the threats of the Monrovia politicians against the NPFL. In a nationwide address today, President Taylor said the NPRA government is a legitimate government of Liberia, and will use every resource available to protect the sovereignty of its citizens.

Taylor To Release Hostages to Red Cross

AB2908204791 London BBC World Service
in English 1705 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been a spurt of movement in the somewhat halting peace process in Liberia. Over a year ago, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] rebels took hundreds of foreign nationals hostage in the town of Kakata in protest over the participation in the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, ECOMOG, force of countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. Now it seems Taylor is prepared to let the hostages go, and he is trying to arrange their repatriation on certain conditions. From Monrovia Claude Hiney telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to the UN's Monrovia Offices Newsletter, Taylor has given the go-ahead to the Liberian Red Cross to begin repatriation of all foreign nationals held by the rebels wishing to return. Several hundred West African nationals were taken hostage by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in protest of their countries' committing troops to the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group force in Liberia. They include Guineans, Ghanaians, Nigerians, and Sierra Leoneans who were taken hostage in August 1990.

Mr. Taylor did not give an exact date for the repatriation exercise, but the Liberian Red Cross Society confirmed a formal request had been made. A Red Cross spokesman said: We are happy that these people are now being allowed to move about freely in Kakata. The delay in repatriation is only because Mr. Taylor has advised the Red Cross to move the people via Ivory Coast or the Port of Buchanan and not through Monrovia. He said the exercise required a great deal of preparation and both the local and International Red Cross were involved. According to reports at the time, many of the Guineans, Ghanaians, Nigerians, and Sierra Leoneans taken hostage were killed by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. Taylor had said that for each Liberian killed by ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group soldiers, he would kill five of his captives.

The move to release the hostages is seen as one of the positive steps initiated by the NPFL since diplomatic efforts to end the crisis in Liberia began 11 months ago. [end recording]

Factions Hold Closed-Door Meeting 27-28 Aug

AB3108143591 Paris AFP in French 1813 GMT
29 Aug 91

[Text] Monrovia, 29 Aug (AFP)—The three Liberian factions met behind closed doors on 27-28 August in Monrovia under the auspices of the Liberian Council of Churches (LCC), in an effort to find a solution to the current political stalemate in the country, it was learned today from reliable sources.

According to a participant who wanted anonymity, this meeting was a "prelude" to an upcoming summit of heads of state from the region in Yamoussoukro. Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny is leading the Economic Community of West African States committee responsible for organizing elections in Liberia, it is recalled.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) of Charles Taylor was represented at this meeting by Laveli Supuwood, secretary for justice, while the delegation of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) of Prince Johnson was led by the former interim vice president, Peter Naigow. Colonel Goweh represented the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL—soldiers faithful to former President Samuel Doe), according to a reliable source.

Mali

New Cabinet Holds First Meeting 27 August

AB3008142591 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The new government formed yesterday met this morning at Koulouba Palace under the chairmanship of the head of state, Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure. The essential task awaiting this government consists of organizing the referendum and other elections within the last five months of the transition. In his welcome address, the head of state outlined the government's priorities. Let us listen to him:

[Begin recording] In addition to respecting the election dates, the government should, as of now, think of the smooth establishment of the Third Republic's future institutions, those mentioned in the draft constitution, and those resulting from our people's choice for territorial decentralization. Also, the preparation of the political, organizational, and material conditions for the return of the armed and security forces to the barracks deserves particular attention. Open and democratic reconciliation between our people and their valiant uniformed sons should be consolidated in respect of republican legality and stronger discipline.

Furthermore, it will be the responsibility of the government to prepare for the special conference on the north slated for 15 November in Timbuktu. Its task will be to bring together on that day the representatives of the people involved in the problem in order to find a national solution to an issue affecting the interests and future of the entire nation, which is one and indivisible. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Replying, Prime Minister Soumana Sako, on behalf of all the cabinet members, pledged to complete his mission by 20 January 1992. Let us listen to him:

[Begin recording] All the cabinet members join me in admitting that the speech you have just made is a true policy speech which defines the contents of the major tasks assigned the government to help ensure a successful transition to the Third Republic on 20 January 1992. Mr. president, the ladies and gentlemen in whom you have placed your confidence to assist you in your efforts during the last five months of the transition are happy about your choice and pledge to do everything possible to live up to your expectations and that of our people. They also pledge to meet the 20 August deadline with pride. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Toure Returns Home Following Libyan Visit

AB0109200791 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The head of state has just returned to Bamako from Libya. Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure attended the inauguration at Benghazi of the first phase of the man-made river which will traverse Libya from south to north. Oumar Toure, you made the trip.

[Toure] Yes. Indeed the head of state arrived in Bamako a short while ago from Benghazi, Libya, after making a stopover at (Segba). As already stated, he attended the inauguration ceremony of this man-made river which will convey water from the south to supply northern Libya, which means practically the entire desert area of Libya.

In addition to this inauguration ceremony, there was also the summit of Saharan countries which should have taken place but which, unfortunately, could not be held because of a lack of sufficient preparation, among other reasons. This did not prevent the various heads of state,

who were almost all present, from holding bilateral consultations and discussing this summit, as well as the Organization of Saharan Countries and the bilateral relations between the various states. The heads of state agreed to hold the missed summit very soon. This means the summit was merely postponed.

In another development, the head of state, Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Toure, held separate bilateral discussions with the head of state of Burkina Faso; Sudanese President 'Umar al-Bashir; PLO president Yasir 'Arafat; Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution; the deputy speaker of Niger's National Conference, who represented his country at the inauguration of the Benghazi man-made river; and others. [passage omitted]

Tuaregs Claim 65 Soldiers Killed in North

AB2808205791 Paris AFP in English 1305 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Algiers, Aug 28 (AFP)—Tuareg rebels said Wednesday [28 August] they had killed 65 Malian soldiers and captured 10 more in an attack Monday against an army camp at Mounti in northeastern Mali. The claim was made in Algiers by a spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Azawad, one of three Tuareg groups fighting for independence in the Adrar region straddling Niger, Algeria and Mali.

The spokesman, Mohammed Tahar Ag Ahmadou, alias Afankash, denied however a charge by the Algerian political opposition that Libya was supplying arms to Tuareg rebels along the Algeria-Mali border. "Libya is innocent of these accusations," Ag Ahmadou said.

In a recent report to the Algerian Government, the leader of Algeria's Social Liberal Party Ahmed Khalil said Libya was recruiting, training and arming Tuareg refugees fleeing repression in Mali and Niger.

On January 6 Mali signed an agreement at Tamanrasset, Algeria, with the Tuareg rebels granting home rule to the Adrar population and a partial troop pullout from the region. Algeria is chairman of a committee monitoring compliance with the terms of the agreement by Mali's new leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure. During a visit to Algiers on May 13, Toure promised to respect the agreement signed by his deposed predecessor, Moussa Traore.

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